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Facsimile Reprint of  
Political and Commercial  
CONSIDERATIONS  
Relative to  
THE MALAYAN PENINSULA  
and the  
BRITISH SETTLEMENTS  
in the  
Straits of Malacca  
by  
JOHN ANDERSON

With an introduction  
by Dr. J. S. Bastin

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## INTRODUCTION

by

JOHN BASTIN

(i)

Of the early books published in Malaya, this is probably the most interesting; it is certainly the rarest. Only one hundred copies of it were ever printed, and of these less than one-third were distributed through official East India Company channels in London and Calcutta. There they mostly disappeared, as did the copies remaining in the Penang secretariat. It was said that they had been destroyed by Government order. This, at any rate, was what J. R. Logan asserted in an editorial note when he reprinted the first part of the book<sup>1</sup> in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* in 1854.<sup>2</sup>

'A work under the above title was compiled in the year 1824, by the late Mr. John Anderson, of the Penang Civil Service, then Secretary to [Government], at the instance and under the supervision of Mr. [Robert] Fullerton, Governor of the Straits Settlements. Only one hundred copies were printed, and of these a very limited number had been circulated, when for some reason or other they were recalled, and so strictly was the suppression of the work enforced, that Mr. Anderson was required to give his word of honor that he had not retained a single copy. One copy, however, seemed to have escaped notice and fell into the hands of the late Mr. [James Fairlie] Carnegie, who very justly deeming it a work of great interest in connection with the history of the Malayan Peninsula, in 1835 reprinted it in the *Singapore Chronicle*, which he then conducted. After Mr. Carnegie's death this copy was sold at auction for 30 dollars and, we believe, sent to England.'

Logan's account of the destruction of Anderson's book has been accepted by all later commentators;<sup>3</sup> further investigation has shown that it has little foundation.

(ii)

Anderson<sup>4</sup> completed the writing of his book sometime towards the end of 1823 but did not submit the manuscript to the Penang Government until

1. Vol. VIII (1854), pp. 134-57; 266-84; 365-72; Vol. I n.s. (1856), pp. 299-315.
2. Vol. VIII, p. 134n.
3. L.A. Mills, 'British Malaya 1824-1867', *JMBRAS*, vol. III, 2 (1925), p. 34 n. 71; *JMBRAS*, vol. XXXIII, 3 (1960), pp. 42-3, n. 16; C. M. Turnbull, 'Bibliography of writings in English on British Malaya, 1786-1867' *JMBRAS*, vol. XXXIII, 3 (1960), p. 358; H. R. Cheeseman, *Bibliography of Malaya* (London, 1959), p. 78.
4. John Anderson, b. 1795, apparently in Dumfriesshire, Scotland; 1813 appointed Writer on the Prince of Wales Island establishment; 1816 Assistant to Accountant and Auditor;

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September of the following year. In a covering letter to the Governor-in-Council he outlined its purpose:<sup>5</sup>

'The object of my investigation has been to remove some misconceptions which have been too generally circulated respecting the tributary dependence of Quedah upon Siam, as implied from the anciently established Ceremony of transmitting a Boonga Mas, or gold and silver flower, and to direct the attention of the higher Authorities to a subject of deep importance to this Settlement which may possibly not be overlooked, in the future negotiations with the Court of Siam. It has been my aim, by collecting and carefully comparing different Authorities to shew, not only the advantage to British Interests, but the Absolute necessity of immediate interference in the affairs of Quedah.'

- 
- 1817 Assistant to Secretary to Government, [Sheriff, Acting Malay Translator, Assistant to Paymaster and Sub-Treasurer]; 1818 Assistant to Warehousekeeper; 1819 Sub-Treasurer and Assistant to Warehousekeeper; 1820 Deputy Warehousekeeper and Malay Translator; 1822 promoted *Factor*, Deputy Accountant, Deputy Auditor, Accountant to Recorder's Court and Commissioner of Court of Requests; 1824 promoted *Junior Merchant*; 1825 Paymaster and Malay Translator; 1826 Accountant and Auditor, Acting Secretary to Government; 1827 promoted *Senior Merchant*, Secretary to Government and Malay Translator; 1829 on home leave; subsequently retired from East India Company's service and engaged in mercantile affairs in the United Kingdom. Died 2 December 1845 in Euston Place, Euston Square, London. [*Dictionary of National Biography* ed. L. Stephen (London, 1885), vol. I, pp. 385-6; *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1846), vol. XXV n.s., p. 104; *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*; *The East-India Register and Directory* for the years 1814-31. The appointments listed, except those shown in square brackets, follow those given in the latter source.] Anderson's main publications were: *Political and Commercial Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula, and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (Prince of Wales Island, 1824), pp. i-iv, i-xv, 1-204, app. i-lxviii; *Observations on the Restoration of Banca and Malacca to the Dutch, as affecting the Tin Trade and General Commerce of Pinang. The Result of a Political and Commercial Mission to the States of Perak, Selangore and Colong, in the Year 1818; and the Negotiations of Governor Bannerman, for obtaining a Free Navigation of the Rivers Mirbow and Muda, and Opening a Commercial Intercourse with the Patani Country* (Prince of Wales Island, 1824), pp. i-iv, 1-52; *An Exposition of the Political and Commercial Relations of the Government of Prince of Wales Island, with the States on the East Coast of Sumatra, from Diamond Point to Siack, containing a Brief Account of the Several Missions to these States, the Nature of the Trade Carried on Between Them and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca; the Produce of these Countries and the Duties and Port Charges Levied at the Several Places* (Prince of Wales Island, 1824), pp. 1-52. This latter pamphlet was subsequently re-printed as chapter XIV in Anderson's book, *Acheen, and the Ports on the North and East Coasts of Sumatra; with Incidental Notices of the Trade in the Eastern Seas, and the Aggressions of the Dutch* (London, 1840), pp. i-xiv, 1-240; *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra, in M.DCCC.XXIII, under the Direction of the Government of Prince of Wales Island: Including Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Country, an Account of the Commerce, Population, and the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, and a Visit to the Batta Cannibal States in the Interior* (London, 1826), pp. i-xxiii, 1-424. One article by Anderson is listed in note 19 below; his important three-part article on judicial administration in the Straits should also be noted: 'On the Administration of Justice in the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, and the Government of Penang, Singapore, and Malacca', *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXXI n.s. (1840), pp. 175-84, 249-58; vol. XXXII n.s. (1840), pp. 132-9.
5. Anderson to Acting Secretary Prince of Wales Island Government, 11 September 1824, *Straits Settlements Records*, vol. 96 (India Office Library, London), Consultations 14 September 1824. The letter is printed, with minor alterations, as a preface to the book, pp. i-iv.

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The work is divided into two parts, the titles of which give a sufficient indication of its contents:

'Part First. Considerations on the Conquest of Quedah and Perak, by the Siamese; A brief Account of the early Malayan Establishments on the Peninsula of Malacca, and the Modern Relations with Siam; together with an Exposition of the Relative Connexion of the Quedah State with Prince of Wales Island; and Suggestions for the Security of British Interests and the Improvement of the Commerce of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca', pp. 1-112.

'Part Second. Descriptive Sketch of the Tin Countries on the Western Coast of the Peninsula of Malacca, from the Island of Junk Ceylon to the River Lingi near Malacca, and the Rivers on that Coast; intended to exhibit the Boundaries of the Several States, their Natural Productions, as Objects of Commerce, &c.', pp. 113-204.

It was the opinion of Henry Burney, who negotiated the Anglo-Thai Treaty of 1826,<sup>6</sup> that Anderson's work was responsible for allying the Governor of Penang, Robert Fullerton, with the anti-Siamese party in the colony.<sup>7</sup> The evidence certainly suggests that this was so. Fullerton arrived in Penang during August 1824 after a long period of service in Madras; as his administrative experience was confined to India,<sup>8</sup> he could not have come to the Straits with any precise knowledge of affairs in the Malayan peninsula and must therefore have been dependent on local sources of information. Anderson's manuscript was among the first things that he read, and its influence is evident in the long despatch which he addressed to the Supreme Government on 19 October 1824 urging the adoption of a strong anti-Thai policy in the peninsula and the restoration of the ex-Sultan of Kedah. Fullerton's despatch, in the words of L. A. Mills, 'read almost like an abstract of Anderson's pamphlet'.<sup>9</sup>

It would appear that Fullerton authorized the publication of *Considerations* on his own authority as he did not inform Council of his action until December 1824, by which time the book was in print. In a Minute of 10 December he wrote:<sup>10</sup>

'Mr. J. Anderson the Malay Translator under this Government, submitted to me some time ago a Manuscript Paper, drawn up by him on a variety of subjects, affecting the Commercial Interests of this Island, as well as our Political relations with Siam and the Malayan States, compiled partly

6. See *The Burney Papers* (Bangkok, 1910-14), 5 vols.

7. Burney to Secretary Court of Directors, 31 July 1841, *Burney MSS.* Box D, IX (Royal Commonwealth Society, London); *Board's Collections*, 82466, ff. 281-516 (India Office Library, London).

8. Fullerton was appointed Writer on 27 July 1789, and held various posts on the Madras establishment, including those of Second Member of Council and President of the Board of Trade. See *Alphabetical List of the Honourable East India Company's Madras Civil Servants, from the year 1780, to the year 1839* (London, 1839), pp. 108-09.

9. Mills, *JMBRAS*, vol. XXXIII, 3 (1960), pp. 163-4.

10. *Straits Settlements Records*, vol. 96, Consultations, 16 December 1824.

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from the Records of Government, and partly from those sources of private information to which his official pursuits had afforded him access. Considering that this Paper contained a concentration of Information highly useful to all Public Authorities employed in the Administration of the affairs of this Presidency, and which could only be otherwise come at by a long and careful examination of a voluminous mass of Records, I authorized that Gentleman to superintend the printing of the same on the part of Government; — it being distinctly understood that the number of copies was not to exceed that required for the above purpose, and all such were to be the property of Government, and not circulated or otherwise published without the consent of the Honourable Court of Directors. Mr. Anderson having now delivered 100 Copies, I propose that they be distributed as per margin:-

For the Honble Court of Directors	..	..	..	50
For the Supreme Government	..	..	..	10
For Appendixes to the Proceedings	..	..	..	4
For the Gov. & Members of Council	..	..	..	3
The remainder to be kept in the Secretary's Office and issued by the orders of the Board from time to time as required	..	..	..	33
				<hr/> 100 <hr/>

'Of the Political views and opinions of the Writer, it is quite unnecessary for us to enter into any discussion, nor would such be proper on the present occasion, because the general sentiments entertained by us as to the future course of Policy to be observed, whether in respect to the King of Queda or the other Malay States in the Peninsula, must, as circumstances require become the subjects of reference for the consideration of the Right Honorable the Governor General, whose directions will form the rule of actions to be followed by us. But as it has ever been the liberal policy of Honorable Court of Directors to encourage amongst their Servants a spirit of research, and the pursuit after useful information by rewarding those who have devoted their leisure hours to that purpose I propose that the transmission of the Copies intended for the Honble Court be accompanied by a favourable recommendation of this Government, and that they might be solicited to bestow on that Gentleman such remuneration as they may in their judgement see fit, with reference to the time and labor occupied in the Compilation'.

Actually only twenty-five copies of the book were transmitted to the Court of Directors in London and five to the Supreme Government in Calcutta.<sup>11</sup>

11. *Straits Settlements Records*, vol. 96, Consultations, 16 December 1824. The Prince of Wales Island Council recorded its approbation 'at the zeal for the public interests evinced by Mr. Anderson' in writing the book, and agreed to the despatch of the copies to London and Calcutta 'accompanied by an expression of the sentiments of the Board as...recorded [in Fullerton's Minute], and a recommendation to the Honble Court conformably to the latter part of the...Minute'.

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Receipt of the latter copies was acknowledged in a despatch of 14 January 1825 wherein the book was described as a 'very useful Work' reflecting its author's 'intelligence, zeal and industry in the Public service'.<sup>12</sup> This was also the view of the Directors who thought that Anderson's various pamphlets contained 'much interesting information and display[ed] great industry and research'; the Court opposed, however, Fullerton's suggestion that Anderson should be granted pecuniary remuneration for his labours as this would constitute 'a bad precedent'.<sup>13</sup>

These appear to be the only references to the book in the East India Company records; certainly no further mention is made of it in the Secret or Public despatches of the Court to Prince of Wales Island down to the middle of 1829 when Anderson was given local leave to settle his affairs preparatory to returning to Europe.<sup>14</sup> The book obviously had considerable relevance to the treaties concluded by Burney and James Low with Thailand and Perak in 1826,<sup>15</sup> and was in direct conflict with British official policy towards Kedah and Thailand during these years, but there is no evidence that any action was taken either by the Court of Directors or the Supreme Government to suppress it. What, then, is the origin of Logan's story that the book was withdrawn and copies of it destroyed?

### (iii)

Unfortunately it has not been possible to consult the *Singapore Chronicle* for 1835 to ascertain whether or not James Fairlie Carnegy made any suggestion to this effect when he reprinted *Considerations* during that year in his newspaper. In the light of the evidence adduced below this does not much matter; but any statement by Carnegy on the subject would be interesting because he was Anderson's brother-in-law and was in the Straits during the period following Anderson's retirement.<sup>16</sup> Certainly by 1835 the book had become something of a rarity, and Carnegy may well have made exaggerated claims about possessing a copy. It is quite possible that Logan derived his information about the book from Carnegy himself.

Logan's account of the suppression of the book rests on the assumption

12. Fort William. to Prince of Wales Island, 14 January 1825, *Straits Settlements Records*, vol. 100, Consultations, 11 March 1825.
13. Court to Prince of Wales Island, 19 April 1826, [Secret] *Letters to Prince of Wales Island from 7 Jan. 1824 to 12 May 1830*, ff. 367-9 (India Office Library, London.) The full titles of Anderson's other two pamphlets are given in note 4.
14. *Straits Settlements Records*, vol. 129, Consultations, 22 June 1829.
15. See Mills, *JMBRAS*, vol. XXXIII, 3 (1960), pp. 171ff.
16. Anderson married Mary Alison, second daughter of the Penang merchant, James Carnegy, on 30 May 1818 (*Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, 6 June 1818). For certain details about James Fairlie Carnegy and his connection with the *Singapore Chronicle*, see C. A. Gibson-Hill, 'The Singapore Chronicle (1824-37)', *JMBRAS*, vol. XXVI, 1 (1953), pp. 175-99.

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that it was a source of embarrassment to the Government because it exposed the weakness and challenged the good faith of British official policy towards Kedah; but the interesting thing is that when rumours of the suppression were circulating in 1840-41, members of the anti-Anderson faction were claiming that the book had been withdrawn not by Government, but by the author himself because of its factual inaccuracies. The details of this controversy at that time are complicated and require explanation: they involve the affairs of Tengku Mohamed Saad, a nephew of the ex-Sultan of Kedah, who had been active in fomenting Malay opposition to Thai rule in that state.

### (iv)

On 26 October 1840 Tengku Mohamed Saad was arraigned before the Court of Judicature in Penang on a charge of piracy. He was represented by two Law Agents, W. Balhetchet and J. R. Logan, who, although not barristers or attorneys, developed a spirited defence on the general principle that Kedah was an independent state whose integrity had been earlier recognized by the East India Company. In support of this proposition Anderson's book was admitted in evidence and freely cited during the trial by the defence counsel, both of whom made reference to the fact that the Penang Government had destroyed all copies of the book at an earlier period. Logan mentioned the matter only in passing: 'as the only copy of Mr. Anderson's work to be found in Pinang, and not recalled apparently by an oversight of government....'; Balhetchet, on the other hand, spelled out the details: 'I have already mentioned...that the government recalled all copies of this book that could be discovered; that Mr. Anderson was obliged to give his word of honour that he did not retain a copy, and that this copy now produced [in evidence] and proved is from the library of Mr. James Fairlie Carnegie of this Island a brother in law of Mr. Anderson'.<sup>17</sup> As these statements went unchallenged by anyone in authority, such as the Resident Councillor, J. W. Salmond, who was present at the trial and was actually required to give evidence on the authenticity of Anderson's book, there is naturally a strong presumption that they are true; certainly Balhetchet's statement contains all the elements of Logan's editorial

17. *Trial of Tuanku Mahomed Saad and Others for Piracy Held in the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca. At Prince of Wales Island On Monday the 26th and Thursday the 29th October, and Monday the 2nd of November 1840* (Pinang: Printed at the Gazette and Chronicle Office), undated but 1840; no pagination. A copy is bound in *Board's Collections*, 82466 (India Office Library, London). For some information on the events leading up to the trial of Tengku Mohamed Saad, see N. Tarling, *Piracy and Politics in the Malay World* (Melbourne, 1963), pp. 109-11; N. Tarling, 'British Policy in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago 1824-1871', *JMBRAS*, vol. XXX, 3 (1957), pp. 40-1; J. Low, 'An Account of the War betwixt the Malays and Siamese In 1838, Commonly called the War of Tuanku Mahomed Saad', ch. IX, pp. 160ff. in 'A Retrospect of British Policy in the Straits of Malacca....', *The Burney Papers* (Bangkok, 1914), vol. V, part i.



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notes in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. IV (1850), p. 26, and vol. VIII (1854), p. 134n.

Tengku Mohamed Saad was ultimately acquitted of the charge of piracy but instead of being freed was sent as a state prisoner to Calcutta where an attempt to secure his release by writ of *habeas corpus* failed through the efforts of Government in having him smuggled to Murshidabad. This action produced a storm of criticism in the Calcutta press, especially in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, which re-printed a transcript of the Penang trial. The Supreme Government undoubtedly experienced some embarrassment from the publicity given to the affair, but Lord Auckland managed to quieten matters by having compiled a complete set of records relating to the British connection with Kedah and making them available to the press.<sup>18</sup> The *Calcutta Courier* and *Friend of India* immediately modified their earlier critical line, as a result of which they became engaged with the anti-Government *Bengal Hurkaru* in a controversy which, in part, related to the accuracy or otherwise of Anderson's book:

'The enemies of the Quedah cause, have endeavoured to decrease the value of Mr. Anderson's work, because it makes against them, and they have designated it a garbled compilation, fabricated for a particular purpose'. *Bengal Hurkaru*, 29 March 1841.

'Mr. Anderson's account of the taking of Quedah is stated to be a perfect romance and greatly contradicted by the report of the Penang Government. Mr. Anderson's book was never suppressed by order of the Supreme Government. It is more likely that he and Mr. Fullarton [*sic*] became ashamed of it, and stopped its circulation'. *Friend of India*, 1 April 1841.

'The *Hurkaru* says, that Mr. Anderson was engaged by the British Government to compile his work, but this is an error, and not the less so because commonly entertained. Mr. Anderson and the Governor of Penang (Fullerton) published it with the intention of aiding the desire they entertained of having Quedah annexed to Penang.... The opinion that Mr. Anderson's book was prepared by desire of the Home Government probably arose from the latter taking one hundred copies, but that was their practice when a work was published by any of their public servants; and as to its being subsequently withdrawn from circulation, we can only say that if any attempt was made to suppress it, we conceive that it was without the knowledge of Government, and by Mr. Anderson's own directions for reasons best known to himself'. *Calcutta Courier*, 30 March 1841.

### (v)

This controversy in the Calcutta press soon engaged the attention of the London newspapers as well as Burney and Anderson, both of whom addressed long memoranda to the Court of Directors expounding their views on Kedah's

18. *The Friend of India*, 1 July 1841, denied that the records had been received directly from the Supreme Government, but the circumstances strongly suggest that Government arranged for them to fall into the hands of the press.

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relations with Great Britain and Thailand.<sup>19</sup> The details of this controversy need not concern us, except that we must note, what has hitherto escaped attention, Anderson's categorical denial that his book was ever suppressed, or copies of it destroyed, by the Penang Government. This denial is incorporated in a paragraph in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1841.<sup>20</sup>

'It has been said that, subsequently to the treaty with Siam [in 1826], this work was suppressed, one copy only having escaped destruction; but Mr. Anderson, who is now in England, has expressly declared that the work was undertaken, compiled from official records, and published, at the suggestion and with the approval of Governor Fullarton [*sic*], who strongly recommended the author; "the governor" ... [Anderson] says, "also distributed several copies, and the work was read by nearly all the officers of Government,<sup>21</sup> civil and military, and freely commented on. No copies were called in, nor pledge required, while I was at Penang, during nearly six years after its appearance".'

This statement by Anderson effectively demolishes the story of the book's suppression, but it does not explain how the story gained currency or why it went unchallenged during the trial of Tengku Mohamed Saad. The most likely explanation is that rumours began to circulate because the spare copies of the book, which were supposed to have been kept in the Government Secretary's office, became quickly dispersed through private circulation soon after it was published; and Logan and Balhetchet's charges went unchallenged in 1840 because they related to a period in the mid-twenties when other officials were in charge of the administration. There are strong grounds for supposing that Carnegie was the source of the story — certainly Logan could not have had any first-hand knowledge of the affair because he did not arrive in Penang until eighteen months prior to Tengku Mohamed Saad's trial — but where Carnegie got it from, and why it was embroidered with the detail that Anderson was obliged to give his word of honour to Government that he did not retain a copy in his possession, is impossible to say.

19. Anderson to Court, 11 August 1841, and Burney to Court, 31 July 1841, *Board's Collections*, 82466. ff. 263-80, 281-516. A copy of Burney's letter is also to be found in *Burney MSS.* Box D, IX (Royal Commonwealth Society, London). See also J. Anderson, 'Siam and Quedah', *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXXV n.s. (1841), pp. 144-59.

20. 'Quedah, and Tuanku Mahomed Saad', *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXXV n.s. (1841), pp. 111-12.

21. It is exceedingly curious that James Low, who was in Penang at the time, did not know of the book. In the introductory paragraph of his 'A Retrospect of British Policy in the Straits of Malacca...', *Burney Papers*, vol. V, part i, p. 1, he declared: 'The following account was written by me several years ago and before I was aware of the nature of a pamphlet which had been published by Mr. Anderson and which, from having been distributed at the time and privately to a few individuals only, did not become public until its republication in the Singapore Chronicle [in 1835]'. From these remarks we may infer that Low's later account (*Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. IV (1850), p. 26) of the suppression of Anderson's book was based on hearsay.



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The conclusion that the book was not suppressed by Government accords not only with Anderson's positive statement on the question, but also with the fact that more copies of it survived than was allowed by Logan. During the trial of Tengku Mohamed Saad it was claimed that only one copy of the book was to be found in the island—that belonging to Carnegie<sup>22</sup>—and fourteen years later Logan asserted that this sole surviving copy had found its way to the United Kingdom.<sup>23</sup> But in 1841 there were at least three copies in Calcutta,<sup>24</sup> presumably part of the consignment of five despatched in 1824, and no attempt was made by the Government to destroy them. In 1925 Professor L. A. Mills, who accepted the suppression story, referred to five extant copies;<sup>25</sup> I have found ten. Doubtless there are others, particularly in libraries in India. I am given to understand by oriental booksellers in London that a survival rate of ten per cent of a book published so obscurely as *Considerations* is entirely reasonable, and gives further support to the conclusion that no copies of it were wilfully destroyed. I have marked with an asterisk those copies of the book which I have been able to examine personally:

*Rhodes House Library, Oxford*: one copy, purchased from Maggs Brothers Ltd., London, in 1946 for £25 stg.

*India Office Library, London*: two copies:

- (i) a copy\* bearing the ink inscription on the title-page, 'R[eceived] from Mr. Dart 28 July 1825', and bound up with Anderson's two other pamphlets, *Observations on the Restoration of Banca and Malacca to the Dutch . . .* (Prince of Wales Island, 1824), and *An Exposition of the Political and Commercial Relations of the Government of Prince of Wales Island, with the States on the East Coast of Sumatra . . .* (Prince of Wales Island, 1824).
- (ii) a second (cleaner) copy,\* with a slip of paper bound-in bearing the ink inscription, 'Received from Secretary Sept: 8. 1837'.

*The British Museum, London*: one clean copy.\*

*Library of the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology, The Hague*: one copy. Listed as item 14 on p.411 of G. P. Rouffaer and W. C. Muller, *Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek van het Kon. Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië en het Indisch Genootschap* (The Hague, 1908).

22. *Trial of Tuanku Mahomed Saad . . .* (Pinang, n.d.). The editor of this transcript has added the following note to Balhetchet's statement cited above: 'We know positively that this is the only copy of the book on this Island'.

23. *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. VIII (1854), p. 134n.

24. *Bengal Hurkaru*, 29 March 1841.

25. *JMBRAS*, vol. III, 2 (1925), p. 34 n. 71; Vol. XXXIII, 3 (1960), pp. 42-3 n. 16.

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*Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London:* one clean copy\* formerly in the possession of C. O. Blagden. It bears an ink inscription on one of the inside pages. 'E. libris Charles Otto Blagden Malacca 1893'.

*Library of the Royal Commonwealth Society, London:* one clean copy\* which was purchased by the Society (then the Royal Colonial Institute) in 1893, the same year in which Blagden obtained his copy in Malacca.

*Library of the Perak State Museum, Taiping:* two copies.

- (i) The copy\* from which this facsimile reproduction has been made. It has been bound up with Anderson's pamphlet, *Observations on the Restoration of Banca*.
- (ii) A second copy to which L. Wray made reference in a letter in the *Singapore Free Press* of 17 April 1905 in answer to an appeal from the Curator and Librarian of Raffles Museum, Singapore, for information about Anderson's *Considerations*. Wray's letter reads:

'Sir, — In answer to your literary query respecting John Anderson's work on "Political and Commercial Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca" I may inform you that there are two copies of the book in the Library of the Perak State Museum. One copy was bought from the late Mr. Noel Denison, Superintendent of Lower Perak and the second was presented by Sir Hugh Low G.C.M.G. formerly British Resident, Perak. The first was bought from some Bookseller in London for 12s. and is stated to be "very rare".'

*Library of the National [Raffles] Museum, Singapore:* one defective copy, lacking pp. 65-8. Listed on p.2 of P. Daniel, 'A Descriptive Catalogue of the Books Relating to Malaysia in the Raffles Museum & Library Singapore' *JMBRAS*, vol. XIX, 3 (1941).

## Postscript

Since the above was written I have come across a copy of Sir Frank Swettenham's confidential report, *An Account of the Origin and Progress of Siamese Influence in the Malay Peninsula, 1785 to 1882* (1882) which reprints pages 1-82 of Anderson's *Considerations*, with certain textual changes. In the introduction to his monograph Swettenham accepts Logan's story of the recall and suppression of Anderson's book.

POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL

**CONSIDERATIONS**

RELATIVE TO

**The Malayan Peninsula,**

AND THE

**BRITISH SETTLEMENTS**

IN THE

**Straits of Malacca.**

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By JOHN ANDERSON,  
*Of the Honorable East India Company's Civil Service, Pinang.*

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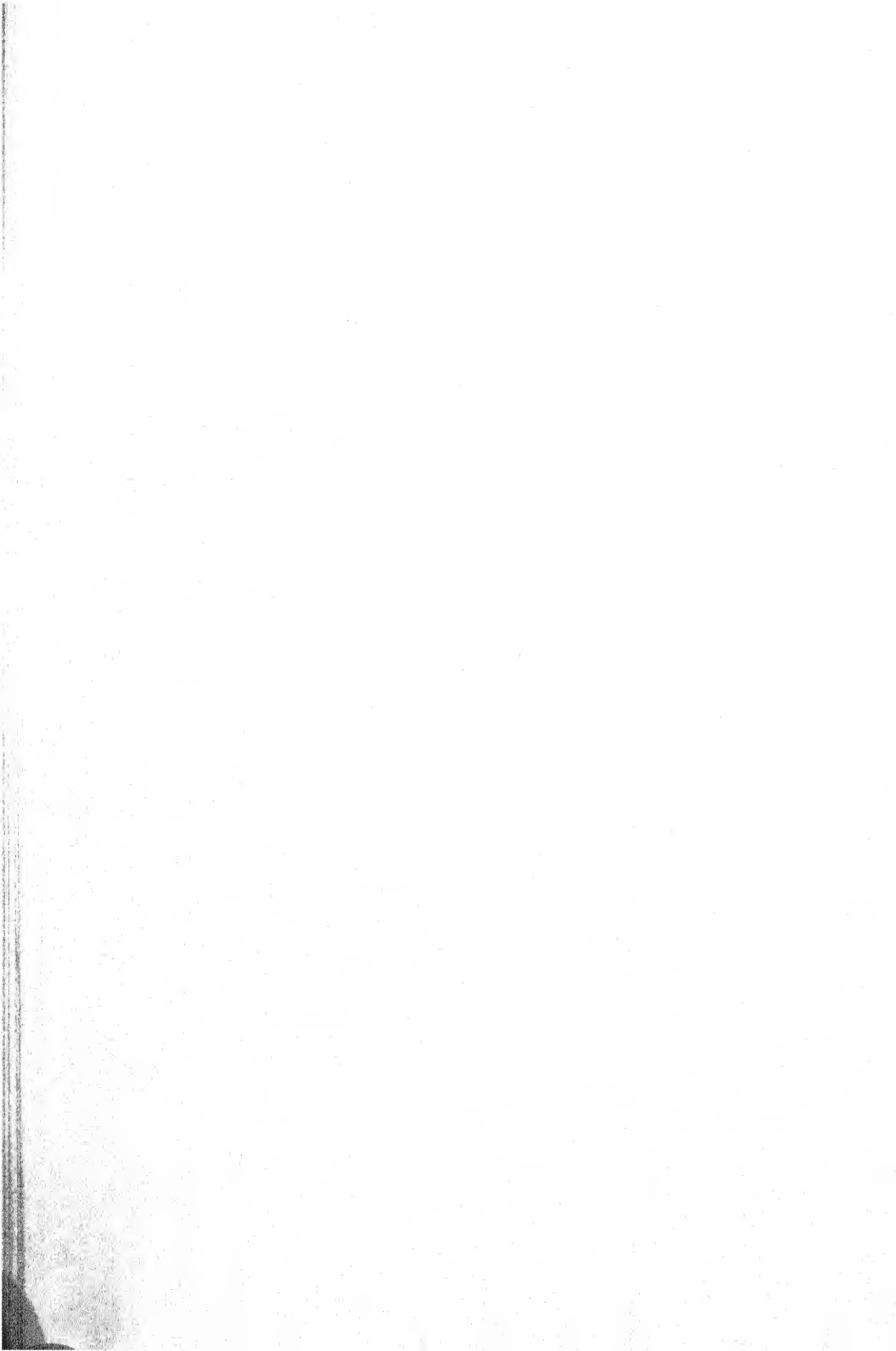
Prince of Wales Island,

PRINTED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF GOVERNMENT,

By WILLIAM COX.

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1824.



TO

THE HONORABLE

ROBERT FULLERTON, Esq.

GOVERNOR OF

Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies,

THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MOST OBEDIENT, FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.



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Some Errors of the Press have arisen from the haste with which the following sheets have been printed and the want of that due attention to the correction, which the Author's public duties prevented him from bestowing, to the extent necessary. He therefore requests the Reader will indulgently overlook such defects.



## LETTER TO GOVERNMENT.

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To

W. M. WILLIAMS, ESQUIRE.

ACTING SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

SIR,

Placed as I have been, for sometime past, in situations which have given me favorable opportunities of acquiring information respecting the neighbouring Native States, while Commercial Agent to this Government and more recently, conducting the correspondence between the late Governor and the authorities at Ligore and Quedah—I take the liberty of respectfully submitting to the Honorable the Governor in Council, the result of my enquiries upon a subject, which has, during the few last years, engaged the attention of this Government, and a consideration of which is daily becoming more momentous, in consequence, not only of the commencement of hostilities against the Burmahs, the meditated expeditions against the Southern Ports of that Empire, the very unsatisfactory footing upon which the British Government at present stands with Siam, more especially with the minor State of Ligore and its present dependency of Quedah, but

also the unsuccessful issue of the late Governor's negotiations in view to effect the restoration of the King of Quedah; the deceit and cunning evinced by the Ligor Chief and his agents, during the whole progress of these negotiations and the development of his real intentions, by the uncourteous reception of the agent who was lately deputed to Traang.

The first part of the accompanying paper contains some reflections upon the conquest of Perak and Quedah, a brief account of the early Malayan Establishments on the Peninsula and the relative connection of the Quedah State with Siam and Prince of Wales Island; an exposition of the advantages likely to result from declaring Quedah and the whole of the Malayan States under the protection of the British Government, restoring a weak Ally to the Throne of his Ancestors, not so much from a consideration of the Claims which he has to support, however strong, as from a regard to the interests and prosperity of the British Settlements; to which is added a few suggestions relative to the policy to be pursued, for the improvement of the declining commerce of this port with these States.

The second division contains a descriptive Sketch of the Tin Countries on the Western side of the Malayan Peninsula, from the Island of Junk Ceylon to the river Lingi, near Malacca and the rivers on that Coast, intended to shew the boundaries of the several States as defined and admitted by the best Native Authorities; to point out the separate rights of each and the facilities which exist for

extending the commercial intercourse with these States and drawing forth the valuable products with which the Peninsula is known to abound.

The object of my investigation has been to remove some misconceptions which have been too generally circulated, respecting the tributary dependence of Quedah upon Siam, as implied from the anciently established Ceremony of transmitting a Boonga Mas, or Gold and Silver flower,—and to direct the attention of the higher authorities to a subject of deep importance to this Settlement, which may possibly not be overlooked, in the future negotiations with the Court of Siam. It has been my aim, by collecting and carefully comparing different authorities, to shew, not only the advantage to British Interests, but the absolute necessity of immediate interference in the affairs of Quedah.

The dispersion of the Malays by the lawless oppressions of the Siamese, is unquestionably giving encouragement to a very alarming system of piracy, and the decline of trade, the scarcity and enhanced price of grain and other supplies have been too sensibly felt, of late, to escape notice. Measures of the utmost forbearance have already experienced a trial of three years, but the prospect of a satisfactory adjustment appears as distant as ever, while the Government is obliged to comply with the selfish policy of the authorities at Quedah and pay a bounty upon the grain which used to be imported formerly, at one half the price.

## LETTER TO GOVERNMENT.

These observations were penned in the latter part of last year, prior to the knowledge of an intended rupture with the Burmahs, and at a time when the public mind, at this Settlement, was considerably agitated by the reports which daily arrived, of a meditated invasion by the Siamese. These remarks are submitted therefore, with the utmost deference, in the hope that the Hon'ble the Governor in Council will indulgently overlook any imperfections in the execution of the task, in consideration of the importance of the subject to the interests of this Island.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

(Signed)

J. ANDERSON,

MALAY TRANSLATOR TO GOVT.

Pinang, 11th Sept. 1824.

# CONSIDERATIONS,

ON THE

*CONQUEST OF QUEDAH AND PERAK.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

**I**N undertaking the compilation of the following work, and presenting, in a condensed form, a detail of the various circumstances connected with the subversion of the Malayan Government of Quedah, and the subjugation of other minor States by the Siamese, which a ready access to official records and the most authentic documents has enabled me to accomplish; in bringing forward also, in support of my own opinions and arguments, founded upon a very deliberate consideration of the subject, the most powerful and respectable authorities in favor of an immediate interference, on the part of the British Government, in affairs which so nearly concern its own interests and permanency in this quarter; I was prompted by an anxious desire to fulfill a duty which, however desirous I was that it had devolved to abler hands I felt myself impelled, from the consideration of the Official situation I held, and the opportunities I have enjoyed of visiting

some of the principal places on the western coast of the Malayan Peninsula, to attempt the execution of.

It is not my wish to claim any merit for this voluntary task, (which has been brought to a conclusion without the aid of any one who might possibly have guided my inexperienced judgement,) beyond that of diligence and industry in the collection of the materials, and a conscientious desire to present, in as concise a form as possible, a fair and impartial view of a question of deep importance, upon which so many conflicting sentiments have prevailed. My investigation has been laboriously minute, and I have overlooked no practicable means of acquiring the most correct information. If I shall have succeeded, therefore, in removing any mistaken impressions which may have existed relative to the political connection of the Siamese and Malayan States, and in inducing a more attentive consideration to a subject of no small moment, my object will be attained.

When we reflect upon the magnitude of our possessions in India and their importance to the Parent State, every thing connected with them, either in a commercial or political point of view has a claim to serious attention; but when we consider what an ambitious disposition has, of late years, been evinced by the two powerful States of Ava and Siam to make encroachments upon the territories of their neighbours, and how deeply British interests have been, and still are affected by such proceedings, the necessity of examining and carefully weighing every circumstance connected with our political relations,



becomes apparent; and it is the paramount duty of all who have the interests of their employers at heart, and whose Official situations enable them to form a judgement of such events,—to lend a helping hand in warding off impending dangers,—to anticipate probabilities,—no less than to endeavour to restore tranquillity amongst the surrounding nations.

The recent events which have involved the British Government, in defence of its rights and in opposition to the unjustifiable aggressions of the Burmahs, in active hostilities with the powerful Empire of Ava, and the extraordinary and alarming line of conduct which has marked the proceedings of the no less ambitious power of Siam towards the Malayan States and the British Government of Prince of Wales Island, seem to point out the present, as a fit time, for offering such observations as an attentive reflection may have originated.

We have lately beheld a remarkable illustration of the aggrandizing spirit of the Ava Government, in the correspondence of the Ministers of that Court and the Rajah of Tavoy with the Ex-King of Quedah.\* That correspondence fully evinces a desire to reduce the whole of the Malayan States to tributary dependence upon Ava, and an intention of wresting from the Siamese, the possessions lately acquired by treachery by that equally despotic Government. We have also witnessed other projects, indicating the extent of their policy and deep schemes, in

\* Vide Appendix.

the attempt of the Burmahs to form a closer connection and alliance with the Cochin-Chinese Government, by the deputation, last year, of a Mission to that Court, under Mr. Gibson. The prompt declaration of War by the British Government and the extensive warlike operations which followed, have, no doubt, diverted for a time, the Burmahs from the plans they were well understood to be making rapid preparations for executing; and we are indebted to the vigorous measures of the Supreme Authorities, that this neighbourhood is not, at this moment, the scene of war and depopulation. Relieved, however, by accidental circumstances, from such expected calamities on one hand, the present aspect of affairs, in regard to the Siamese, cannot fail to engender, in the minds of those who take a careful review of all the circumstances connected with the negotiations with the Rajah of Ligore, an expectation, that the relief is but temporary and that the present order of things is not such as to encourage a belief, that the British Government will be able to submit much longer to the line of policy pursued by the Siamese. The state of agitation and apprehension in which the Settlement of Pinang has been kept since the arrival of the Siamese at Quedah and the many inconveniences which have resulted both to the British Government and its numerous subjects, as well as the inhabitants of the populous countries around us, do assuredly point out the necessity of a speedy consideration and final adjustment in some way or other.

The sooner we interfere in the affairs of Quedah, the greater will be the probability of success. The Siamese will, no doubt, be under some alarm at our proceedings with the Burmahs, so long as we continue successful; as they would encroach upon us more and more, were the contrary to be the result. We should now avail ourselves, therefore, of the opportunity of taking advantage of their alarms: for pacific negotiations have been tried, but tried in vain. The longer they retain Quedah, the stronger will be their claims, and it would certainly be extremely injudicious in us to delay until all their projects have been brought to maturity, and they have acquired claims by long and unopposed possession.

Much diversity of opinion has prevailed relative to the principles of policy which should guide the authorities in this country, in their intercourse and connections with the various Native powers; but experience has fully testified that the liberal and enlightened views of Lord Wellesly are the best adapted to the peculiar circumstances of our vast Empire, which has grown upon us insensibly, and that a steady adherence to that system is well calculated to secure the tranquillity of India and the permanency of our authority in these extensive regions, no less than solid advantages to the state, by encreasing revenues and improvement in the condition of the numerous and diversified population of the country, as an opposite practice would infallibly, eventually entail upon us the most pernicious consequences and endanger the security of our possessions.

Distinct and different as are the inhabitants of the East from the West, as dissimilar in respect to many points of principle and character as they are in their colour; bound by few moral obligations; ignorant and utterly disregarding of those sound maxims and principles of policy which guide the more enlightened Nations of the West, and universally regarding might as right, we shall, in vain, endeavour to guide our conduct towards them by fixed principles or to compel them to a steady and faithful adherence to any proposed and consistent system. Naturally tyrannical and ambitious in their dispositions, power is their idol, and if vested with the means, they regard no acts as unjustifiable or unfair in gaining the ascendancy and in wresting, by force, from their neighbours, what they cannot assume as a right or obtain by measures of pacific negotiation. This remark is more or less applicable to the whole of the nations of Asia, with whom we have had intercourse, (but to none more so than the Siamese and Burmahs,) and from the natural and inherent constitution and character of these races, it may be visionary even to expect, that education and familiarity with the customs of other nations, will, for a series of ages to come, eradicate such deep rooted prejudices.

However desirous the British Government has been to conciliate the good will of its neighbours, how ready soever it has always shown itself to repay concession by concession, and to encourage the most friendly commercial relations, how averse, at all times, to proceed to extremi-

ties, when reluctantly forced to repel aggression, still moderation has its limits, and a compromise of its just and inherent rights or a tardiness in repelling encroachment, would generally entail more serious evils than we suffer from being engaged in occasional hostilities. The ascendancy which the British name and power has gained throughout the East; an ascendancy certainly established chiefly by the sword, renders it the more necessary to destroy the first seeds of opposition and encroachment, at this late period of our sway, on the part of any native power, lest the example of our forbearance, in one case, should give encouragement to other powers, and thus involve us in far greater calamities than we seek to escape from, by pacific means, undoing all that has been done, by the sacrifice of wealth and human lives, for the attainment of objects, which if preserved, confer a blessing upon the mother country, and will continue to raise, as our struggles and our moderation as victors have raised the British name through all countries. Let not, then, any delusive hope of success from an experimental and illusory system of avoiding War by undue forbearance, when we are forced by circumstances to resist, induce us to pursue plans of which our whole experience and history affords abundant evidence of the futility.

Many arguments have been adduced in favor of the neutral system of policy, which looks to the wars and contentions of other States as the best safeguard for our own security; but these have been successfully combated by

the most able and experienced practical men, whose opinions from their long and intimate acquaintance with the very peculiar character of the Natives and State of the country, must be entitled to infinitely more weight and consideration than the plausible and speculative theories of some politicians who take but a superficial view of the subject and who do not permit their minds to dwell on future consequences and contingencies. In vain shall we attempt to conform to the prescribed line of policy, at present, with any expectation of success or advantage. "No line of policy," said an able Chairman of the Court of Directors\* many years ago, "could be more fatal to us, than that of suffering any of the more powerful chieftains of India to swallow up the rest, which must be the case, if they are permitted, without restraint, to perfect their knowledge in the art of war as practised among the nations of Europe, and to direct the acquirement to the attack and destruction of their weaker neighbours."

We have, of late years, observed the avidity with which the Burmahs and particularly the Siamese, have been collecting immense supplies of arms and ammunition, as it were in anticipation of some extensive hostilities. The wholesome regulations of the statute, which prohibited the export of warlike stores from England were rigidly supported by the Pinang Government during a series of years, but the extensive importation of arms from the

\* Mr. David Scott,

continent of Europe, into Singapore, which have been sent in ship loads to Siam, and the (I must term it) injudicious excitements held out by the papers of that Settlement, for farther supplies, are matter for consideration by the superior authorities, in viewing the probable intentions of the Siamese. We must narrowly watch the proceedings of that Government through all its various ramifications and windings of cunning, intrigue and prudential foresight, to form a proper estimate of its designs. Upon their professions and declarations, experience has shewn us, we can place but little reliance. A remarkable and very convincing proof of this is exhibited in the assurances made by the Envoys from Ligore,\* the fallacy of which were too clearly exemplified in the reception given to the Ambassador from Pinang, immediately afterwards. It has been well observed,† “ it will never be sufficient for us to confine our views or political relations to the bare preservation of our possessions in India; we must look further from us, and possess, not a remote but an immediate interest and cause in the condition and changes of our neighbours; whatever affects them must, in its operation, bear upon us in some shape or other.”

The advantages and sound policy of employing the power and influence of the British Government in cases when inferior States, (with which we have had even an indirect connection, not to say alliance,) are oppressed by their more powerful neighbours have been successful-

\* Vide Conference in the Appendix.

† Summary of the Mahratta and Pindaree Campaign, page 12.



ly advocated and maintained by one of the ablest and most distinguished Servants of the Honorable East India Company. Sir John Malcolm,\* is decidedly of opinion that the Security of our possessions is more likely to be maintained by using the great and commanding power which we have acquired, to preserve the general peace and tranquillity of India, than by a policy, which declaredly looks to the wars and disputes of its neighbours, as one of the chief sources of its security, and which, if it does not directly excite such wars, shapes its political relations with inferior States in a manner calculated to create and continue them. "The professed object of this system," says he "is to avoid, by contracting our political relations that continual embarrassment to which it is argued, we must otherwise be subject, and all measures pursued are to be conformable to certain general principles, which, like a broad shield, are to save us from every injury, and simplify the whole scheme of our Government in India.

"If such a result was really attainable, the task of rule would become easy, and the whole machine of Government might be kept in order by a very moderate share of attention and understanding; but, unfortunately all experience is against such a conclusion, which is indeed contrary to the nature of man. We must, if we endeavour to fly from those political embarrassments, and complex relations which have been in all ages the conditions of extended power and dominion, always meet with

\* Political History of India.



much greater evils than those from which we try to escape. With regard to all general principles of rule, we should recollect, that their value is not in their abstract excellence, but in their seasonable and just application; for it is the great and sole art of Government to addept principles to the continual changes of human affairs, not to force human affairs into a shape that suits principles. This observation applies with peculiar force to our Empire in India; which from its foundation, the nature of its Government and the various tribes and nations which it includes, demands more wisdom and more modification of system in its Government than perhaps any that ever was established in the universe.

“ This Empire, though raised by the operation of many and various causes, has been chiefly established, and must be constantly maintained, by the sword. But though we must continue to Govern as conquerors, it is our duty to make our rule a benefit to mankind; and to carry among those whom we have subdued, the blessings of peace, knowledge and improvement in all the arts of civilized life. And at that stage which our power in India has attained, we will probably find the accomplishment of such an object easier, and more conducive to our security, than all the wars and contests in which a selfish and neutral policy can ever involve our neighbours.”

“ \* On the political principles which should regulate our future intercourse with the Native Powers in India, I have before stated an opinion, to which I can only

\* Sir J. Malcolm's Political History of India, page 462, 3 & 4.

add, that such intercourse is likely to be marked by events and contingencies, which will disappoint, as has been the case heretofore, all hopes that we can ever form of the Local Government in India being able to follow any exact rules, which are laid down for its guidance. The neutral system of non-interference, and of trusting in a great degree for our security to the contests of our neighbours, has been proved, by experience, to be equally unwise and impracticable. We shall therefore best maintain the peace and prosperity of our own territories, by using our established power towards the great object of preserving, as far as we have the means, the general tranquillity of India. It will not, perhaps, be easy to effect the complete accomplishment of this object, nor are we called upon to interfere in every case of quarrel between States with whom we have no engagements; but, if we shape our general policy towards this end, we shall, from the commanding State of our power, gradually promote peace, without much danger of involving ourselves; and we shall receive our share of those benefits which this system will bring to others."

"It is, however, certain, that with whatever care we cultivate our external relations, and however much we endeavour to avoid future wars, we cannot expect to escape altogether an evil, which is among those conditions on which human dominion is enjoyed. But, as we can only hope for a comparative exemption from this evil by the complete efficiency of our Military force, that

will always, in the reduced state of the present powers of India, enable us to defeat it, and we can, on its occurrence, if circumstances connected with the local situation of the Countries which we conquer, or any other consideration, forbid us annexing conquests to our own territories, confer them upon some of our Allies on such terms as we deem proper, and every such act of liberal policy will give life and strength to the exercise of that large influence and power through which we may hope to establish the permanent tranquillity of India."

The war in which we are at present engaged with the Burmahs, a war of just retaliation and which has doubtless been long anticipated by that Government, from the preparations which they have been making and which might have been more serious, had we granted them a longer delay to mature their extensive plans of operation, may possibly enable us, if circumstances should not compel us to come to an open rupture with the Siamese, (a measure seriously to be deprecated unless from the most urgent necessity,) to make some arrangements for granting that power the concession of the more southerly ports of the Burman Empire, viz. Tavoy and Mergui, which were taken from them many years ago, in exchange for the restoration of Quedah to its rightful owner and an engagement to avoid all future interference with the States on the Malayan Peninsula, from the latitude of 8° 40' N. which would include the Island of Junk Ceylon, a post which might be turned to great account.

I have endeavoured, and I hope satisfactorily, to shew, that the Rajah of Quedah was an Ally of the British Government; that the Settlement of Pinang was ceded as a condition of protection and that the treaty is one of defensive alliance; that having been closely connected with the English Government 35 years, and the British Settlement having derived its principal supplies from his country; we are bound to protect him against the encroachment of a minor power dependant upon Siam, both from a regard to such powerful claims and to our own interest. It is the policy of the British Government, whose resources are unlimited, to support a weak Ally, and as Sir Stamford Raffles elegantly expresses it, in animadverting, with some degree of severity, upon the policy pursued by the Pinang Government in regard to the King of Acheen, and alluding to the advantages which the Eastern Islands possess with respect to commercial resources, “ \* Were legitimate and acknowledged Sovereigns assisted in resuming their due authority, piracy and rebellion might be destroyed, these shores would be peopled with their Native Inhabitants, whose industry awakened and invited by the opening of a safe navigation to the Capitals, would in fleets of small Vessels, so essential to the prosperity of our Eastern Settlements, bring the produce of the interior down the innumerable Rivers and communicate to Countries beyond the reach of foreign adventurers, the comforts of civilized life.

“ A few years of repose to these Islands, and of safe uninterrupted Commerce with its attendant blessings,

\* History of Java, vol. 1, page 224.

would repay with gain incalculable, what they now claim from our benevolence and philanthropy, if not from the justice of Europeans who have so essentially contributed to their degradation. If left neglected without capital, without a safe navigation, almost without laws, the Government disunited, the people groaning under vassalage and slavery, these races must descend still further in the scale of degradation until scarcely a vestige will remain to vindicate the records of their history, and their political existence will only be testified by acts of piracy perpetrated on defenceless vessels, which from accident or ignorance may visit their inhospitable shores." The Natives draw no other conclusion from our forbearance, than a consciousness of weakness. 'Tis hazardous to allow such sentiments to gain strength.

I have ventured to prefix thus much to the observations contained in the following pages, which have been submitted to the immediate authority under which I have the honor to serve, by which authority they are now printed, for the more ready reference of those whose duty it may be, to decide upon questions of such importance. Whatever errors or omissions there are, must be wholly ascribed to myself; and inexperienced as I am, in such compositions, I too sensibly feel my own disqualification for the arduous task I have undertaken. However impressed I may be therefore, with such conviction, I commend the following sheets to the generous and liberal indulgence of my superiors, in the full confidence that my motives will prove a shield against the imperfect execution of the duty.



# PART FIRST.





PART FIRST.

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# CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

CONQUEST OF QUEDAH AND PERAK,

BY THE

SIAMESE;

A brief Account of the early Malayan Establishments

ON THE

PENINSULA OF MALACCA,

AND THE

MODERN RELATIONS WITH SIAM;

TOGETHER WITH

AN EXPOSITION OF THE RELATIVE CONNEXION OF THE

QUEDAH STATE WITH PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND;

AND

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE SECURITY OF BRITISH INTERESTS

AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE COMMERCE OF THE

BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE STRAITS OF MALACCA.

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PART FIRST.

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CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

CONQUEST OF QUEDAH AND PERAK,

BY THE

SIAMESE,

&c.

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**T**HE intelligence of a sudden invasion by a large Siamese Force, from Ligore, of the Territories of the King of Quedah, the old Ally of the British Government, which reached Prince of Wales Island in November 1821, and the various rumours which prevailed, regarding the ulterior objects of the Siamese Army, spread terror throughout the Island, and, although there was a considerable Military Force at the Presidency, the alarms of the Native Population were difficult to be appeased. Many of the wealthy Inhabitants buried and concealed their

valuable property, while others made preparations for conveying it away to other British Settlements. The supplies of grain, cattle and poultry, from the Quedah Country, on which Pinang had so long chiefly depended, were suddenly withheld, and there was considerable distress amongst the poorer classes, by the increased price of provisions.

The prompt and humane measures of Government, however, not only for quieting the fears of the Inhabitants, and allaying all apprehensions of an attack by the Siamese, but for obtaining supplies of grain from Bengal and other quarters; while in the mean time, large issues of Rice were made from the Honorable Company's Stores, which was distributed to the poorer classes at a moderate price, prevented much distress, which must have otherwise ensued, and speedily restored greater confidence in the strength and resources of the Government, which could command ample aid in case of need.

For a better understanding of this unexpected event, it will be proper to take a short review of the circumstances connected with it. On Sunday the 12th of November 1821, about noon, a large fleet of Prows full of Siamese, was observed standing into the Quedah river, coming in the direction from Traang, a large river to the Northward, where the Armament had been equipped. The Pangulu or Commandant of the Fort instantly sent notice of its approach to the Bindahara or General of the

Quedah Army and the Laksamana or High Admiral, who were a short distance up the river, and having some apprehensions of treachery, prepared the guns to bear upon the Prows, waiting only for the orders of the Bindahara to fire upon them. The General, however, who was taken by surprise, did not choose to authorize this, and determined to employ measures of pacification in the first instance.

The arrival of the Siamese was so sudden, that the Malayan Chiefs had time to assemble only a few of their dependents, with whom they proceeded to the wharf or public landing place, which is about 150 yards beyond the Fort, and which was surrounded by the Siamese fleet, well armed. The Bindahara, Laksamana, Tamungong and a few of the Quedah Chiefs were seated on the covered wharf, and the Siamese ascended in a large body with muskets, spears and other warlike weapons in their hands. The Bindahara interrogated them as to the object of their visit, and was informed that they wanted rice, being about to attack the Burmahs. The General promised them an immediate supply; but while the conversation was going on, the Siamese had assembled a large party ashore, and surrounded the wharf; they now threw off the mask and told the Quedah Chiefs, they had come to seize them and they must submit to be bound. The Bindahara and Laksamana exclaimed, with one accord, "we are betrayed, let us attack them furiously,"

and instantly drawing their Creeses, plunged them into the Siamese who stood nearest them. A general battle now ensued.

The venerable Laksamana and Tamungong, who used to boast that he was invulnerable, with several other Chiefs, were soon dispatched, the Bindahara was disarmed and bound, and their men, dispirited and panic struck by the loss of their leaders, fled in all directions, pursued by the Siamese, who butchered them in great numbers and put them to death by means the most cruel and revolting to human nature. These operations being observed from the Fort, a few guns were now brought to bear upon the Siamese vessels, and two or three were sunk. The Siamese then proceeded to set fire to some of the houses, previously dragging out any of the men who had taken refuge in them, and torturing them to death, pillaging the houses of all their contents that were of any value; and they seized, indiscriminately, all the Prows and Vessels in the river at the time, amongst which were several small trading Boats from Pinang.

Having, after a slight opposition, possessed themselves of the Fort, which was garrisoned principally by a few Bengal and Chooliah Sepoys, they dispatched a party immediately to the Kwala Mirbow, a large River to the Southward, and nearly in sight of Pinang Fort. On the following day, Monday, they entered the Mirbow and met with a slight and ineffectual opposition from a small Battery near the mouth of the River, which kept them

in check for a short time, and allowed an opportunity for the intelligence of the approach of a hostile fleet to reach the King of Quedah, who was residing in floating houses a few miles farther up,—where he was forming a new Settlement and cutting a Canal from that River to the Muda, another large River to the Southward, which forms the Northern boundary of the British Territories on the main.

Hearing that the Siamese Force was ascending the River, and having only a very few adherents at hand, he hurried off in the greatest consternation with all his Wives and Children, and mounting them together with his most valuable ornaments and as many Dollars as he could collect upon several Elephants, which were fortunately close at hand, he proceeded across the Jungles, in a direction towards the Prye River, within the Territory of the Honorable Company. The King left a large Brig and a Schooner, on board of which was a large amount of treasure which fell into the hands of the Captors. Numbers of his attendants who fled with him, but were not mounted upon Elephants, perished from fatigue and hunger in the woods, and particularly, several of his most respectable and venerable Chiefs. The King himself, after five days of severe fatigue and exposure, during which time he separated from several of his Elephants, and much of his valuable property, which was no doubt purposely conveyed away in a different direction by his own faithless attendants,

to whom he had entrusted it, arrived at a place called Kota, the residence of his Brother Tuanko Solyman, up the Prye River; where embarking all his followers and property on board four or five Prows he descended to the mouth of the River, and solicited the protection of the British Government.

The Governor of Prince of Wales Island, with that humanity and consideration which was due to an old Ally, instantly granted the protection sought for, and the King was not only provided with suitable accommodations, but a strong guard of Sepoys was posted at his residence, to prevent any attempt to carry him off by force, and he was granted an allowance adequate to maintain himself and numerous family comfortably. His Majesty has remained ever since, in the enjoyment of these advantages, and supports his trials with becoming fortitude and dignity.

On the morning after the King crossed over from Prye, a fleet of fourteen or fifteen Siamese Prows was observed standing close along shore in pursuit of His Majesty, and they had actually the audacity to attempt to enter the Prye River, where they believed the King still was. The fleet was driven back by two of the Honorable Company's Cruizers, which had strict orders afterwards to prevent any Siamese vessels from coming near the harbour, without previous examination and permission. A few days after this occurrence, the Rajah of Ligore sent a letter to the Governor, couched in very haughty



and disrespectful terms, desiring the King of Quedah to be delivered up to him, a demand which was met by a dignified refusal, accompanied by a salutary admonition as to the style of future correspondence with the Representative of the British Government. Some of the Siamese Troops having pursued the Malays into the Territory of the Honorable Company, near the Kwala Muda; the Government lost no time in dispatching a Company of Sepoys, under an active Officer, Capt. Crooke of the 20th Regt., for the purpose of expelling such daring intruders, and affording protection to such emigrants as might seek shelter under the British flag and escape the persecution of the relentless enemy. The temperate, but at the same resolute, conduct of that Officer in supporting the dignity of the British Government, and in seizing and disarming a party of Siamese who made an encroachment upon Province Wellesly, was no doubt, calculated to evince to the Siamese Authorities, the power and the determination of the British Government to oppose such proceedings, and the moderation of the measures adopted in the first instance.

The Natives from Quedah, and the traders from other Coantries whose vessels had been seized, and who had been deprived of all their property, now flocked to Pinang in thousands, many in small Canoes formed of a tree hollowed out. It is scarcely possible to conceive the state of distress and misery in which hundreds of these poor fugitives landed at Pinang; men, women and child-

dren crowded together for several days in small boats, without any provisions and scarcely any clothing; most of them escaped clandestinely, and many boats which were overloaded with passengers were lost; the emigrants finding a relief from their sufferings in a watery grave. Many Malays who were detected in the attempt to escape, were put to death, and the wives and daughters were forcibly dragged from their husbands and fathers and ravished by the Siamese soldiery. The mode of execution was horrible in the extreme; the men being tied up for the most trifling offence, and frequently upon mere suspicion, their arms extended with bamboos; when the executioner, with a ponderous instrument split them right down from the crown of the head, and their mangled carcases were thrown into the river for the Alligators to devour.

The King of Quedah's second and favorite Son, Tuanko Yakoob, attempted to escape like the rest, but was pursued and taken, and has since been sent in bonds from Quedah to Siam. The Bindahara or Prime Minister, after being kept in chains a long time at Quedah and deceived with hopes of liberation, for which the Pinang Government earnestly interceded with the Ligore Chief, was carried away and poisoned on the road to Sangora. It is impossible to calculate the number of Malays who have perished by the swords of the Siamese, by the loss of prows on their way to Pinang and other places, and by famine and fatigue in the woods. Every aid was

administered to the refugees who fled to Pinang, and beneficial regulations subsequently made by Government for affording them the means of livelihood. It is proper in this place, to notice the highly creditable conduct of the late Governor of Malacca, Mr. Timmerman Tyssen, who no sooner hearing of the conquest of Quedah, and having received exaggerated accounts of the Siamese force, and the probability of an attack upon Pinang, than he dispatched one of His Netherland Majesty's Frigates, which was lying in Malacca roads at the time, with a handsome offer of co-operation, in case of the Siamese engaging in hostilities, and even the Chiefs of some of the surrounding Malayan States were not backward in making respectful tenders of all the aid their limited means would admit of, which were suitably acknowledged by the Government of Pinang. Such was the opinion of all the neighbouring Malayan States of the treachery and injustice of the Siamese in attacking Quedah, and such their apprehension of becoming themselves the victims of their rapacity, that they were eager to employ their utmost efforts to expel the Siamese from Quedah, and looked up, with full confidence, to the British Government supporting its old Ally.

Having effected the complete subjugation of Quedah, and possessed himself of the country, the Rajah of Ligore next turned his attention to one of its principal Dependencies, the Lancavy Islands, and fitted out a strong well equipped expedition, which proceeded to the princi-

pal Island, which, independant of possessing a fixed population of between 3 and 4,000 souls, had received a large accession by emigrants from Quedah. Here too, commenced a scene of death and desolation, almost exceeding credibility. The men were murdered, and the women and female children carried off to Quedah; while the male children were either put to death, or left to perish. That fine Island, from which large supplies were derived, is now nearly depopulated, and such of the male population as did escape, driven from their homes and bereaved of their families, have been carrying on a predatory warfare both with the Siamese and peaceable traders close to Prince of Wales Island. Some of them have settled in Wellesly Province, and are employed as cultivators.

Several badly planned and ineffectual attempts have, at different times, been made by small and unorganized bodies of the King of Quedah's adherents in the country to cut off the Siamese garrison at Quedah; but these have all been followed by the most disastrous result; not only by the destruction of the assailants, but by increased persecution towards the remaining Malayan Inhabitants. The King himself, for some time, was anxious to have made an effort to regain his country, in concert with some Native powers which had promised him aid in vessels and men; but he was dissuaded from so perilous and certainly doubtful an enterprize by those who were interested in his cause, and who apprehended his certain overthrow and destruction from such an attempt. There is no doubt,

the Siamese were too powerful and too well prepared for any such ill arranged expedition, as it could have been within the compass of the Quedah Rajah's means to have brought against them, to have had any chance of success; and it would have been inconsistent with the professed neutrality of the British Government to have permitted any equipments or warlike preparations within its Ports; the more particularly so, as a Mission had just proceeded to Siam from the Governor General of India.

However much disposed the Pinang Government might have been, on the first brush of the affair, to have stopped such proceedings on the part of the Siamese, and to have checked such ambitious and unwarrantable aggression; however consistent and politic it might have been, to have treated the Ligorean Troops as a predatory horde, and expelled them, at once, from the Territories of an old and faithful Ally of the British Government; the Mission from the Supreme Government of Bengal to the Court of Siam, and the probable evil consequences of an immediate rupture, were considerations which could not fail to embarrass the Pinang Government and render it necessary to deliberate well before it embarked in any measures of active hostility; while the disposeable force on the Island, although fully adequate to the safe guardianship and protection of the place, and sufficient to repel any force that the Siamese could possibly bring against it, was yet insufficient for prosecuting a vigorous war, or maintaining its conquests against the recruited

Legions which the Siamese power could have transported with facility, ere reinforcements could have arrived from other parts of India. Under all these circumstances, the policy of suspending hostilities was manifest, and it was deemed proper to await the orders of the superior and controuling authorities.

But, there was a more urgent necessity than even the foregoing considerations dictated, of not acting without the consent of the Supreme Government, as that authority has always declined sanctioning any interference with Siam and Quedah, in the innumerable references which have been made from the Chiefs of the Settlement of Pinang since Captain Light first took possession, during all which long period of 35 years, the King of Quedah has been subject to incessant alarm and apprehension from the Siamese, and suffered all the oppression they could inflict, without actually possessing them selves of any part of his Dominions. The Supreme Government admitting that Quedah has always been tributary to Siam, has ever objected to any interference that would be likely to excite a collision with the haughty power of Siam, which it appeared to be the object of the British Government to conciliate. It was expected that the Mission would have produced same results advantageous to the interests of our Ally, by the mediation of the Amba ador; and that, at all events, the affairs of Quedah would have been settled upon a proper footing.

So far however, from any of these most desirable objects which were contemplated being attained; the Siamese Authorities not only assumed a tone of insolence and evasion to all the reasonable propositions of the Ambassador, but signified their expectation that the King of Quedah should be delivered up to them; and the obstacles which existed to a free commercial intercourse have not been removed.

The King of Ligore not satisfied with the conquest of Quedah, and grasping at more extended dominion, under pretence of conveying back some Messengers from Perak, who had carried the Boonga Mas, or token of Homage to Quedah, requested permission for a fleet to pass through Pinang harbour, which being conducted beyond the boundaries by a Cruizer, proceeded to Perak, and after a short struggle, his forces also possessed themselves of that country, which had been reduced by the Quedah forces in 1818, by the orders of Siam, in consequence of a refusal to send the Boonga Mas; which the history of that oppressed State affords no instance of such a demand ever having been made by Siam, or complied with before.

It was understood that Salangore, a Settlement originally peopled by Buggese, was to be the next place of attack; but the timely preparations and commanding and determined posture of defence assumed by the Rajah of that Country, deterred the Siamese for a time, from



making the attempt; if we are not misinformed however, extensive preparations have been long in progress at Traang, for carrying these designs into full effect. There is little doubt, the Siamese contemplate the total overthrow and subjugation of all the Malayan States on the Peninsula, and the subversion of the Mahometan Religion. Patani and Tringano, the principal States on the other side of the Peninsula have long suffered from the Siamese oppressions, and if, as it is generally believed the Rajah Muda or Brother of the Emperor of Siam is about to establish himself at Traang, and the Rajah of Ligore has actually proceeded to convey him thither from the Capital, Bangkok; there are, no doubt, some schemes in embryo, which it is difficult to conjecture and impossible to foresee.

During the two years that have elapsed since Quedah fell into the hands of the Siamese, the supplies of provisions to Pinang have been very scanty, and every thing has been prodigiously enhanced in price. The Government of Prince of Wales Island, seeing but little prospect of a speedy termination of the disturbances at Quedah, or a satisfactory settlement of affairs, and anxious to provide for the numerous fugitives who had voluntarily placed themselves under its protection, and become British subjects, considered it advisable to appoint a Resident at Province Wellesley, who had authority to portion out small tracts of land to such families as might wish to settle permanent-



ly and cultivate; to make small advances of cash repayable within a certain period, in grain, and to give every encouragement to the cultivation of paddy; and the rearing of cattle and poultry, by which, it was hoped, the Island would, ere long, be plentifully supplied with provisions. The population there has had a large encrease by the emigrants from Quedah, and there is every probability, that in time, under good management, and by a conciliatory line of conduct towards the inhabitants, considerable supplies may be obtained from that source. As yet however, they have scarcely exceeded what was obtained from thence before the capture of Quedah; the new settlers being, for the most part, indolent and undetermined in their movements.

The longer experience we have had of the Siamese Government of Quedah, the less do they appear to evince any desire to conciliate the British Government. Several atrocious murders have been perpetrated in the Quedah River upon some inoffensive and peaceable native traders, subjects of the English Government of Pinang, and the whole of their property plundered, as has been fully ascertained, by the connivance, if not the direct authority, of some of the principal Siamese Chiefs; nor have these authorities made that atonement for such outrages, which the British Government has a right to expect, and which it will doubtless enforce. In short, instead of adopting a mild, conciliatory system of administration, calculated to engage the affections of the Inhabitants whose Country

has been wrested from them, there has been one continued scene of the most brutal rapine and carnage, oppression and devastation that can possibly be imagined. British subjects, with whom, it might have been supposed, they would have had some dread to interfere, have been cruelly put to death, and the British Government not only slighted and insulted by evasive replies and frivolous delays, but the population of the Presidency kept in a constant state of alarm and agitation by daily reports of large armaments destined to make an attempt upon the Island, fitting out at Traang and other Rivers. How improbable soever such designs may be, still it is essential that the fears of the native inhabitants should be appeased; to avert the injury which the Commerce of the Island would necessarily sustain.

In advocating the cause of the injured and oppressed Nation of Quedah, as I humbly profess to do, I may be permitted to notice, that the records of the Pinang Government from 1785 to 1790 furnish ample evidence; first, that the right of interference of Siam with Quedah was not acknowledged at the period of the cession of Pulo Pinang to the British Government; secondly, that that cession was made upon the express condition of succour and protection against a powerful, relentless and overbearing enemy; thirdly, that we accepted the grant upon this understanding; that is, without making any objections to the proposals of the Rajah of Quedah before possession was taken.

And lastly that we are bound by considerations of philanthropy and humanity to extend our aid to an oppressed Monarch, who has long been our friend and Ally, and to a defenceless multitude groaning under the most bitter tyranny, and suffering all the horrors and calamities which a ferocious enemy can inflict.

Their religion is violated, their wives and their children are forcibly dragged from them; the aged parent and the helpless babe are butchered by these ruthless and sanguinary barbarians, who consider them as useless appendages, and the most wanton murders, perpetrated by means the most cruel and painful to the wretched victims, are of daily occurrence. Surely, a powerful nation, which has ever been foremost to dispense justice and to succour the oppressed, will not suffer such acts of horror and cruelty at its very door, without employing its power and influence to check such enormities. The history of our possessions in Continental India, affords numberless instances of our interference on many far less pressing occasions, and shall we not extend our fostering protection to our Friend and Ally; to the acknowledged and rightful Sovereign of one of our four Presidencies, who has been overcome by an ambitious and powerful neighbour?

When we add to the many powerful and irresistible inducements for our interference, considerations of a more interested nature as regards our own prosperity and stability in this quarter, and look to the baneful effects of the Siamese Conquest of Quedah, in the stoppage of our ac-

customed supplies, to the distress of our Inhabitants by the encreased price of Provisions, to the almost entire stagnation of trade from that quarter; when we advert to the indignities and cruelties inflicted upon quiet and peaceable British subjects who ventured to continue their Commercial pursuits with Quedah; when we consider the state of disorder and confusion around us, and that piracy is daily increasing (the natural result of thousands of Malays being driven from their homes,) and that a predatory warfare is carrying on in our immediate vicinity; nay, sometimes within sight of our harbour; when we know that many of our own unoffending subjects have suffered in common with the enemy; when we reflect upon the tone of insolence and contempt hitherto assumed by the haughty Ruler of Siam; the presumption even of the lowest Officers of this proud Despot, with whom we have had correspondence or connection; when we remember the uncordial reception of our Mission, and the indignities and corporal punishment inflicted upon two defenceless Englishmen, in the palace of the Emperor, for a trifling breach of their peculiar laws and ignorance of the customs of the Country; when we consider, in short, the unsociable propensities, if I may so term it, of the Siamese power, and its evident disinclination to treat with us upon a footing of equality; or to conciliate the friendship and good will of a nation which has the power to crush it in a moment; when we observe that the trade of the Country is by no means equal to the exaggerated

statements of its importance and value, while we have the example in the history of our transactions with the no less imperious power of China, that Trade, though it may be interrupted for a time, will eventually flourish more, after the establishment of a proper understanding and an occasional contention for just rights and privileges; and when, moreover, we observe that the eyes of all the surrounding States are upon us, and expect us, not only to succour the King of Quedah, our ancient Ally, but to oppose a barrier between them against the unjustifiable encroachments of the Siamese, we shall surely have incentives enough for taking a vigorous part in the defence of the Quedah Kingdom.

Do we admit the principle that the Siamese have a right to subjugate all the Malay States on this side the Peninsula, viz. Perak and Salangore, which have with greater inaccuracy been stated as always tributary to Siam, we, in fact, give encouragement to the total destruction and annihilation of the valuable trade which forms the principal export of this Settlement, of the Revenues of the Honorable Company, and of the means of support and livelihood of our numerous and industrious subjects. The Emperor of Siam may in many respects, be compared to the former ambitious ruler of France, and if his projects are not nipped in the bud, there is no foretelling what the result will be if the fruit is allowed to attain maturity.

Various are the opinions which have prevailed relative to the tributary dependence of Quedah upon Siam, and it shall be my endeavour, as far as the paucity of materials will admit of, to deduce, from a careful examination and comparison of different authorities, evidence to shew, that Cuedah has submitted only to a certain limited dependence upon Siam, in no way derogating from her Sovereignty, still retaining to herself the right of administering her own Government according to her own laws and institutions, and that consequently the subjugation of the country, is an act of unprovoked aggression, which it is the policy of the British Government, to resent. "His Highness of Quedah, (as justly remarked by the Honorable the Governor of Pinang in December 1821,) has certainly much misgoverned his Kingdom, yet his long close connection with the British Government has given us a far greater influence over his mind and character, than what we can expect to acquire with regard to the Chief who may be placed on the Throne of Quedah by the Siamese. It appears to me, that the British Government should not hesitate to endeavour to obtain the restoration of our Ally to the Throne of his Ancestors, because it is undoubted policy to prevent the near approach of the Siamese influence and power, and because his restoration, if effected by our means, would redound highly to the honour and reputation of the British Character among the surrounding Malayan States;" to which may be added the opinion of his respected predecessor, the



late Colonel John Alexander Bannerman, who, in allusion to the difficulties in which the King of Quedah was involved in 1818, by the demands of the Siamese, observes, "Independant of the cause of humanity which has never been disregarded by the British Government or our Honorable Employers, there are many other motives that strongly bias me at this juncture in favor of His Majesty of Quedah's proposition. There is no doubt but that our Commerce with the neighbouring Malay States is much impeded by the dissensions subsisting between these Princes, and that the trade with Perak in particular, from which our revenues once derived great benefit, is now almost wholly suspended."

The following extract from the dispatch to the Supreme Government, dated the 28th November, 1821, from the Pinang Government, clearly shews the opinion entertained of the necessity for the removal of the Siamese from Quedah, "In apprizing your Excellency of the present state of affairs at Quedah, it cannot be considered unimportant to observe that unless some arrangements are made by which the Siamese power may be withdrawn from our immediate neighbourhood, there will be an evident necessity for encreasing our disposeable force at this Presidency, in view to secure against that arrogant and formidable power, the tranquillity of this settlement, and the freedom of its Trade with the northern ports. Hitherto there has been no difficulty in this respect; the state of Kedah has served as a barrier between the Siamese pos-

sessions and the Company's territories, and has been bound to us by Treaty and reciprocally engaged for our benefit;" and in reference to the disposition of the Siamese Government in comparison with the Malayan, "But we apprehend such would not be the case with a Siamese Government, so closely bordering on us, the natural insolence and haughtiness of the nation would be apparent in every intercourse, and they could only be held in check by the strong arm of power and a continual preparation to repel the aggressions which would be at all times too ready to be manifested."

In adverting to the conquest of Quedah and Perak by the Siamese, we are naturally led to take a brief review of the political relations which have heretofore subsisted between them. Confused and incongruous as is the History of the early Settlements of the Malays on the Peninsula, which we find narrated in the *Sejarah Malayu*, or *Malayan Annal*, we are enabled to gather sufficient to shew, that prior to the emigration of the Malays from Sumatra in A. D. 1760, the more Northerly part of the Malayan Peninsula was partially inhabited by Siamese. The Malays pretend to derive the descent of their Sovereigns from Alexander the Great, and trace in a regular line of genealogy, the successive Dynasties and Kings of Hindostan, till the time of Rajah Suran, Grandson of Rajah Sulan, who reigned in Andam Nagara, and all the Lands of the East and West were subject to him. The first place of importance he appears to have reached on the Penin-



sula, was a Fort situated on the River Dinding, in the vicinity of Perak. The King extended his Conquests to the Country of Glang Khiau, which in former times was a great country, possessing a Fort of Stone up to the River Johor. In the Siamese Language, this word signifies the place of the Emerald (Klang Khiau.) The ancient City of Singapore was established by Rajah Sang Nila Utama (a descendant of Rajah Suran,) who emigrated from the East Coast of Sumatra, it is supposed from the Country now known by the name of Siack, which borders on the Menangkabau Country. After the destruction of Singapura, by the forces of the Rajah of Majapahit, then a powerful State on the Island of Java, Rajah Secandar Shah founded the City of Malacca. He died in 1274. The conversion of the Malays to Islamism, is said to have taken place about the year 1270, in the reign of Rajah Kechil Besar, who after conversion, assumed the title of Sultan Mahumed Shah. In 1509, the Annals represent Malacca as being one of the first Cities of the East, and the Kings of that powerful State had successfully opposed every attempt of the Siamese to subdue them. At this time it is said Malacca was in a very flourishing State, "and the general resort of Merchants, from Ayer Leleh, the trickling stream, to the entrance of the Bay of Moar, was one uninterrupted market place. From the Kling Town likewise, to the Bay of Penagar, the buildings extended along the shore, in an uninterrupted line. If a person sailed from Malacca to Jagra, (Parce-

lar Hill) there was no occasion to carry fire with one, for, wherever he stopped, he would find people's houses. On the Eastern side likewise from Malacca, as far as Batu Pahat, (hewn Stone) there was the same uninterrupted succession of houses, and a great many people dwelt along the shore; and the City of Malacca, without including the exterior, contained nineteen laxes of Inhabitants (190,000)." The last engagement between the Malayan and Siamese Forces, which is recorded in the Annals prior to the Conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese, is thus described. "The Rajah of Ligor was ordered by the King of Siam to attack Pahang, and Sultan Mahumed of Malacca determined to send assistance to Pahang. At this time, the subjects of the City of Malacca alone, besides those of the Coast and Villages, amounted to ninety Lac. The Malacca people arrived at Pahang, and in a few days finished a large Fort. The Rajah of Ligor now advanced with all his host, which was innumerable, and commenced the war in a manner which cannot be described, and the Soldiers of Ligor died like hens of the pip. The men of Malacca and Pahang attacked them, and they gave way, and were broke and completely dispersed. Maha Raja Dewa Susa fled to the uplands of Pahang, and proceeding straitly by land to Callantan, from whence he returned to Ligor." This happened in 1509. In 1511, the Portuguese arrived and beseiged Malacca. Sultan Mahumed fled, and founded a Fort at Bintanger. He afterwards retired to Pahang,

and was received with great kindness. It was afterwards that he founded the City of Johor, and subsequently Rhio, on the Island of Bintang.

In the subsequent year, the Malays made an attempt to re-take Malacca from the Portuguese. In 1516, 17, 18, and 19, Sultan Mahumed, Ex-King of Malacca and now King of Bintang and Johor, blockaded Malacca, but in the last was defeated. In 1521, the Portuguese made an attempt upon Bintang, but were defeated by the Malays under the celebrated Laksamana. During the subsequent five years, there were incessant hostilities between the Portuguese and Malays, and the former attacked Pahang and Patani, murdering and laying waste. In 1537, an attempt was made on Johor by the Portuguese. They were defeated by Sultan Aluden and the Laksamana, but in a second attempt, they reduced and sacked the Town of Johor. In 1559, Sultan Abdul Jalil the first, ascended the Throne of Johor. From this period till 1610, there is little heard of Johor. Sultan Abdullah Shah ascended the Throne in this year, and in 1613, we find that the King of Acheen, the ancient Ally of the Ex-King of Malacca, possessed himself of Johor, Pahang, and other places on the Peninsula.

It does not appear that Singapura, Malacca, Perak, Johor, Pahang, or Rhio, or indeed any of the Malay States which were founded by emigrants from Sumatra, ever were subject to Siam during the long interval from 1160, when Singapura was first settled, up to the period

of the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511, on the contrary, there is unequivocal proof, that the Malays successfully maintained their position, and frequently repelled the attempts of the Siamese. In 1567, we are informed by Marsden, that " Sultan Mansur Shah from the Kingdom of Perak in the Peninsula, ascended the Throne of Acheen, after several preceding Sovereigns had been murdered by the Acheenese. The same author informs us, that in 1613, the King of Acheen, whom the annals name Sekandar Muda, was known to our travellers by the Title of Sultan Paduka Sri, (words equivalent to most gracious) Sovereign of Acheen, and of the Countries of Aru, Delli, Johor, Pahang, Kedah, and Perak on the one side, and of Barus, Passaman, Tikou, Sileda, and Priaman on the other. Some of these places were conquered by him, and others he inherited. It is supposed by Mr. Marsden, that during the reign of Sultan Ala-wa-  
edden, (and the opinion has been quoted by others as an authentic fact,) who ascended the Throne of Malacca in 1447, that the country was under the power of the Siamese during some part of his reign of 30 years; but this conjecture is by no means supported by the Malayan History of that reign, and the successful opposition by the Malays to all the attempts of the Siamese, seems to contradict such a supposition, which has perhaps been inadvertently advanced by this generally correct and enlightened author. In 1619, the King of Acheen made a Conquest of the Cities of Kedah and Perak, on the

Malayan Coast. At this time, Perak sent a Gold and Silver Flower to Acheen, in token of homage. Mr. Marsden states, that in 1611, "the whole territory of Acheen was almost depopulated by wars, executions and oppression. The King endeavoured to uphold the Country by his Conquests. Having ravaged the Kingdoms of Johor, Pahang, Kedah, Perak, and Delli, he transported the Inhabitants from these places to Acheen, to the number of Twenty two Thousand Persons."—In 1614, we find "the Dutch complain that the Queen of Acheen gave assistance to their enemies, the people of Perak." I shall now proceed to take a cursory and abstract view of the political connection of the several principal Malayan States on the Peninsula, up to the period of the establishment of the British Interests at Prince of Wales Island, under their separate heads, beginning with

## KEDAH OR QUEDAH.

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Long prior to the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese, the Annals inform us, that the Rajah of Kedah proceeded to Malacca for the Nobats\*, which were granted him; he was well received, obtained his dignities direct from Malacca, and was considered tributary to that

\* The Drums or insignia of Royalty.

State. Whether after the conquest of Malacca or prior to that event, is not precisely ascertained, the King of Quedah sent a Boonga Mas, or Gold Flower, to Siam, and the origin of this custom is thus accounted for by the Malays of the present day. In early years, the King of Quedah sent a Flower of Gold to the eldest Son of the King of Siam, a Child; to play with, and the present being construed into a token of inferiority, or homage, the custom has been kept up triennially ever since; but the King of Quedah has usually received in return a present of superior value, such as a Gold Seree Stand, handsome gold wrought Cloths, &c. "By long custom," says Mr. Light, "the Kings of Quedah have acknowledged the King of Siam as their Lord Paramount and sent triennially a Gold and Silver tree as a token of homage; in return for this the King of Quedah was supplied with Elephants from the forests of Ligore and the Provinces of Siam, which to him was matter of great profit, this was all the connection; the present King demands a heavy tribute of Money, Arms, Men, Boats and Provisions to be employed in his wars against the Burmahs; to avoid this the King of Quedah seeks the alliance of the English, he has no alternative, either he must join the Siamese against the Burmahs or defend his country against the Siamese; the latter is by far the most prudent and beneficial." Quedah being a small country, as the King expresses it in one of his Letters, and very near Ligore, in order to preserve a good understanding, this Flower

of Gold, (from whatever cause the custom may have originated,) has always been sent periodically to Siam in token of homage, and in like manner, the haughty Despot of Siam even condescends to send a similar token triennially to China, by which he secures very important privileges in the way of trade and exemption from duties. In his case, the presentation of the token of homage is considered as entitling him to indulgence, whereas on the other hand, its receipt from the Malay State by him, is made a plea for oppression. Mr. Crawford States, that "the King of Siam, although the circumstance be not generally known, acknowledges himself a tributary of the Emperor of China. His doing so, does not arise from any political necessity or consideration, or out of any actual dependence of Siam upon China, but altogether from this mercenary motive, that the vessels which carry the Ambassadors, may, under pretext of their doing so, be exempted from the payment of all Imposts. With this view, two of the largest description of Junks amounting to nearly 1000 Tons each, sail annually from Bangkok to Canton loaded with Merchandize. They carry Ambassadors annually to the Viceroy of Canton, and once in three years, the Ambassadors go to Peking, an honor however, of which they are not considered worthy, until they receive a title of Chinese Nobility from the Viceroy, and assume the costume of the Chinese. They carry the Chinese Emperor a golden Flower in token of tribute, but receive in return gifts to



a far greater value. The vanity of the one Court, and the rapacity of the other, have long rendered this intercourse a permanent one."—If in this case, the presentation of a Golden Flower is made a pretext for obtaining very considerable immunities; does not arise from any political necessity, and does not betoken any inferiority, but is viewed merely as a complimentary offering, it is difficult to discover upon what grounds Mr. Crawford and others have hinged their arguments, that a similar offering on the part of the Quedah State indicates a feudal subjection which an occasional non-compliance with, or omission of the ceremony, justifies the Siamese in subjugating the whole Country, and wresting the Kingdom from an acknowledged and rightful Sovereign. But of this, more hereafter. Quedah has occasionally sent a Golden Flower to Acheen and to Ava. The ceremony seems indeed to be a mere interchange of civility, or a polite acknowledgment of inferiority, like one Gentleman giving precedence to a superior in rank, though both may be equally independent. In 1770, the Buggese attacked and plundered Quedah, burning many houses. In 1775, the King ceded the Island of Pinang to the English, up to which period, there is no account of the Malayan State of Quedah, which flourished under a succession of Mahometan Sovereigns many centuries, and was at one period a place of very considerable trade, ever having been under the Authority of Siam, further than is implied from the transmission triennially of a Gold and Silver Flower.



## PERAK.

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The old Bindahara of Johor was originally appointed Rajah over Perak, under the Title of Sultan Muzafer Shah. He married the Princess of Perak, and begat Sultan Mansur, who reigned at the time the Malayan Annals were written, in the Year of the Hejirat 1021. There is no tradition that this State ever did send the Boonga Mas to Siam, nor does it appear that any such demand was made. It acknowledged dependence upon Malacca, even prior to a King being appointed from Johor, when it was under the controul of a Pangu-lu, or Minister of the Malacca State, but after the year 1567, when its own King became Sovereign of Acheen, a token of homage was sent to that State by his Successor to the Throne of Perak.

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## SALENGORE.

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This Settlement was formed principally, by an emigration of the Buggese from Celebes, and has never been in any way dependant upon Siam. In 1783, the Salengore

people joined those of Rhio, and went by land to Malacca, which they blockaded.—A fleet from Holland arrived opportunely in 1784. It is reported by Mr. Light who writes to the Governor General, that “ the Dutch then proceeded to Salengore, which they found empty, the King with his followers having fled to Pahang. The Dutch at the begining of this war wrote to the Rajahs of Tringano and Quedah for assistance, the former joined, but the latter declined, excusing himself on account of a war in Patani. This will account for the King of Tringano’s reception of your Letter, and for the King of Quedah’s anxious desire to have the Honorable Company for his Protector. In July last, the King of Salengore having collected about two thousand Pahangs, crossed over to Salengore, and in the night sent few desperadoes to massacre the Dutch. They got into the Fort, and wounded one of the Centinels and the Chief, but the Garrison taking alarm, killed eight of the Buggese, dispersed the rest, and in the morning, the Dutch being afraid of another attack, embarked in their vessels, and fled to Malacca, leaving all their Stores, Provisions and Ammunition undestroyed; the King took possession, and still keeps it. The King of Salengore cannot remain long in his present situation, his people are kept together by hopes of assistance from the English, which he expects from the indulgence and preference our Merchants always received from him and his Father, above any other nation.” I

had scarcely arrived when I received intelligence that the Dutch Fleet consisting of three large Ships and fourteen sail of Prows and Sloops, were before Salengore. The King, unable to procure provision, or to support himself longer without assistance, entered into a Treaty with the Dutch, the particulars of which I have not learnt. It is said, they obliged him to swear on the Koran he would send all the Tin to Malacca, and be a friend to the Dutch. They took away the Guns which they had lost there, and have now sent for him to Malacca." — In the early part of the year 1786, the Rajah of Salengore, Sultan Ibrahim, who is still alive, sent a letter to the Governor General of India saying, that the Dutch Company's people had gone, (having been expelled by force,) and requested the British Government to form a Settlement. It does not appear, that this State has ever had any intercourse direct or indirect with the Siamese, either commercially or politically.

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## COLONG.

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This was formerly a Dependency of Malacca, and afterwards fell under Salengore. In the reign of Sultan Mudhafer Shah, the third Mahometan King of Malacca, Colong was one of the most flourishing Settlements un-

der Malacca, and formed originally by emigrants from Singapura and that place.—In the year 1340, the Chief of this place, Tuan Perak, Son of the deceased Bindahara, ....., Srieva Rajah, was principally instrumental in repulsing the Siamese in one of their attempts upon Malacca. The circumstances are thus related in the Annals: “About the year 1310, it is reported that the King of Siam, who in ancient times was named Salien Nani, hearing that Malacca was a great Country; and did not own his Allegiance, sent to demand a letter of submission, but the King of Malacca refused. The Siamese prepared to attack Malacca, and had reached Pahang, when all the Inhabitants from Mouar assembled at Malacca, and Tuan Perak brought up the people of Colong with all the Women and Children.” The people of Colong complained of their Chief’s conduct, in bringing up their Wives and Children, as only the males from other places had arrived. His Majesty demanded why he had done so; Tuan Perak replied “The reason I have brought their Wives and Children, is, that they may contend with a true heart against the foe, and even if the Rajah were disposed to shrink, from the combat, they would only be the more eager to prevent the Slavery of their Wives and Children. For this cause, they will contend strenuously against the Enemy. The King of Malacca was highly pleased with Tuan Perak and said “Tuan Perak, you must not live longer at Colong, you must come and live here.”—The men of Siam however

arrived, and engaged in fight with the men of Malacca. The war continued for a long time, and great numbers of Siamese perished, but Malacca was not subdued. At last, the whole Siamese Army retreated. Tuan Perak was appointed Bindahara, or General. Some time after, the Siamese made another attempt. "They advanced as far as Batu Pahat, a place a few miles to the Southward of Malacca, but were vigorously opposed by the Malays; the Siamese Champion said:—the preparations of the Malays are immense. If they advance what a fine situation we shall be in, especially as we found ourselves to day, unable to contend against a simple Prahu of their's. Then all the Siamese returned. In their retreat, they were pursued by the Bindahara, Paduca Rajah, as far as Singapura."

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## JOHORE.

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Was founded by Sultan Mahomed, Ex-King of Malacca in 1512. The place was destroyed by the Portuguese in 1608, and a new Town built higher up the River. In 1613, when the Dutch had a small Factory there, it was conquered by the Achinese. In 1703, says Milburn, "Captain Hamilton visited the place, and was

kindly received. The King made him a present of the Island of Sincapore, situated near the entrance of the River, but he declined taking possession of it, notwithstanding its convenient situation for Trade, and the surrounding country being well supplied with excellent Timber and Trees fit for Masts.”—In more recent times, it has been little heard of, and from being a large and populous City, dwindled to a small fishing Village. Johor has long been a Dependency of Rhio.

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## PAHANG.

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In the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca, an Expedition was sent against Pahang. It is thus related in the Annals: “The Bindahara proceeded against it, and after a day’s journey, the Malacca forces reached Pahang, and defeated the Inhabitants with great ease.” The King of Malacca married the beautiful Princess, Wanang Sri, the Daughter of the Pahang Chief, Maha Rajah Dewa Sena, who fled. During the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah, the Siamese never returned to Malacca, nor did Malacca men interfere with the Siamese. Towards the conclusion of this King’s Reign, he sent an Embassy to Siam with a letter which contained neither greeting nor salutation,

and ran thus: "it is desirable that there should be no further Wars, for, there is reason to fear the loss of life, and verily Paduca Bubangan is to be dreaded in war, but there is great hope of his forgiveness and favor." The Emperor of Siam asked how it was Malacca had not been taken by the Siamese, and Tuan Talani, the Envoy from Malacca "called an old man of Sayer, who had the Elephantises in his legs, to display his skill in the Spear. He tossed up Spears in the air, and received them on his back without the smallest wound." "This, Sire, said he, is the reason why Malacca was not conquered by the Siamese, for all the Men are of his description." The Siamese also sent a Mission to Malacca, and the King of Malacca was rejoiced and said, "now my heart is at rest, for my enemy is converted into my friend"—and as the Historian expresses it. "God knows the whole, and to Him be grace and glory." The Kingdom of Malacca was powerful at this time, and it is reported, that Embassies were sent to and from the Emperor of China and the King of Malacca. In the reign of Sultan Alu-eddin, the Successor of Sultan Mansur Shah, the Lak-samana was sent to Pahang, to call the King to account for killing a Malacca Chief. It has been supposed by some Authors, that during the reign of this Prince, Sultan Ala-eddin Rayat Shah, the Country of Malacca was under the Siamese power, but this does not appear to be by any means the case, as it would seem, that Malacca, during that King's long reign of thirty years. was as



powerful as it had ever been, as has been before shewn. Pahang in later years, has been considered under the Authority of Rhio. The King was desirous of having the English there, but it was never taken possession of.

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## PACKANJA.

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This was also a Dependency of the Rhio State.

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## TRINGANO.

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Before Pinang was settled, the Sultan offered a Settlement at this place, and about the same time, he writes to the Supreme Government "according to the advice communicated to us through Captain Glass, we gave fair words and liberal presents to Siam, but Siam is not contented. He demands ourself, or our Son to go and do homage at the foot of his Throne, and if we do not comply with his demands, he threatens to destroy our country; there is no example or precedent from the earliest period of any Prince of this Country doing homage in any other manner than by Letter."



## CALLANTAN.

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This State was rendered tributary to Malacca in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah. The event is thus described, in the *Malayan Annals*. “After some time, the Prince ordered Sri Maha Raja to attack Callantan. At that period, the Country of Callantan was much more powerful than Patani, and the name of the Rajah was Sultan Secunder Shah, who refused to do homage to Malacca; Callantan was taken by the Malacca men. The Sultan of Malacca married the oldest Daughter of the Rajah of Callantan, whose death some time afterwards, distressed the King much. The Chiefs of Callantan have often complained of the vexatious demands of Siam; but have never acknowledged more than its inferiority to Siam, and maintained its independence under a regular succession of Malayan Kings, extremely friendly and disposed to conciliate the English. The Rajahs of Callantan have repeatedly solicited the protection of the British Government and requested the establishment there of an English Factory, offering very considerable advantages.

## PATANI.

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The origin of the Patani State is thus described. "It is related that there is a Country named Cota Maligei, the Rajah of which was a Moslem, and named Rajah Soliman. This Country came to be mentioned in Siam as a very fine Country, but not subject to Siam. A Son of the King of Siam, named Chaw Sri Bangsa, proposed to go and reduce it, and proceeded against it accordingly with an innumerable host, like the leaves of the Trees, and when he reached Cota Maligei, Rajah Soliman came out and engaged Chaw Sri Bangsa, man to man, and each of them mounted on an Elephant. Chaw Sri Bangsa declared, that if he was victorious over Rajah Soliman, he would assume the Doctrine of Islam. The place was taken, and the Siamese Chief became a Mahometan, and desired his Astrologers to search for a good place to found a City. There was a Fisherman who had a Son named Tani, whence he was called Patani, (Tani's Father,) the City was built where he resided, and hence it was called Patani." The King of Patani sent Ambassadors to the King of Malacca, requesting the Nobats to be granted to him, and Patani became a Dependency of Malacca. The English established a small Factory in 1610, which was

abandoned in 1623. The Siamese about the time Pinang was taken possession of, plundered the place, and murdered and carried off the Inhabitants, and in subsequent years, the State became separated and disunited under different Leaders, or petty independent Rajahs.

In the history of the first Malayan Settlement at Singapura, we find that the Emigrants from Sumatra found no Inhabitants, and met with no opposition, and in their subsequent expulsion from thence, their Establishments at Malacca, and again at Johor and other places, were effected under similar happy circumstances; nor do we read in the whole annals of Malayan History, of their Colonies on the Peninsula, of one single instance in which a Country was wrested by force, from aboriginal Inhabitants. It has been admitted by the greatest Philosophers and Politicians, that "All mankind have a right to things that have not yet fallen into the possession of any one, and those things belong to the persons who first take possession of them. When therefore a nation finds a Country uninhabited, and without an owner, it may lawfully take possession of it, and after it has efficiently made known its will in this respect, it cannot be deprived of it by another Nation."\* It follows from this argument, that the Emigrants who founded the Malayan Colonies, had an undoubted right to possess themselves of the desert Countries which they found on the Peninsula, and that having possession, and never relinquished it, during a period of 660

\* Vattel, Chap. 18. Page 99.

years, they are, and must be considered, the rightful possessors of these Countries at the present day.

Having fully established the rights of the Malays to colonize the Peninsula, and having previously shewn, that Quedah was the only State which ever acknowledged any degree of dependence upon Siam, after the dismemberment of the Malacca Kingdom, of which it was a part, I shall now consider what constitutes a Sovereign State, and the several degrees of submission or dependence known to us, as existing among different nations and States, which will enable us to draw a satisfactory conclusion, respecting the relative situation of Siam and Quedah, which it is more particularly the object of the present Paper to discuss. The celebrated Vattel says, in speaking of States bound by unequal alliance, " We ought to account as Sovereign States, those which have united themselves to another more powerful, by an unequal alliance, in which, as Aristotle says, to the more powerful is given more honor, and to the weaker, more assistance. The conditions of these unequal alliances, may be infinitely varied. But whatever they are, provided the inferior Ally secure to itself Sovereignty, or the right of governing its own body, it ought to be considered as an independent State that keeps up an intercourse with others under the Law of Nations." Of States allied by Treaties of protection, he remarks, " Consequently a weak State, which, in order to provide for its safety, places itself under the protection of a more powerful one, and engages, in return, to perform several

Offices equivalent to that protection, without however divesting itself of the rights of Government and Sovereignty, that State I say, does not, on this account, cease to rank among the Sovereigns who acknowledge no other Law than that of Nations." In regard to Tributary States, he observes. " There occurs no greater difference with Tributary States, for though the payment of Tribute to a foreign Power, does in some degree diminish the dignity of those States, from its being a confession of their weakness, yet it suffers their Sovereignty to subsist entire. The custom of paying Tribute was formerly very common, the weaker by that means purchasing of their more powerful neighbour, an exemption from oppression, or, at that price, securing his protection without ceasing to be Sovereign." And of Feudatory States, it is stated by the same author. " The Germanic Nations introduced another custom, that of requiring homage from a State either vanquished, or too weak to make resistance. Sometimes even a Prince has given Sovereignities in fee, and Sovereigns have voluntarily rendered themselves feudatory to others. When the homage leaves independence and Sovereign authority in the Administration of the State, & only means certain duties to the Lord of the Fee, as some honorary acknowledgement, it does not prevent the State or the Feudatory Prince being strictly Sovereign. The King of Naples pays homage for his Kingdom to the Pope, and is nevertheless reckoned among the principal Sovereigns in Europe."<sup>†</sup>

<sup>†</sup> Vattel. Chap. 1. Page 2 & 3.

The original object no doubt of the Quedah State sending a Boonga Mas, or token of homage to Siam, after the custom had been once Established, was to secure the protection of its more powerful neighbour, and we shall now see the obligations of the protector as well as protected. "When a Nation is not capable of preserving herself" says Vattel, "from insult or oppression, she may procure the protection of a more powerful State. If she obtain this by only engaging to perform certain Articles, as to pay tribute in return for the safety obtained, to furnish her Protector with Troops, and to embark in all his Wars as a joint Concern, but still reserving to herself the right of administering her own Government, at pleasure, it is a simple Treaty of protection, that does not at all derogate from Sovereignty, and differs not from the ordinary treaties of alliance, otherwise than as it creates a difference in the dignity of the Contracting Parties."† and again "if the more powerful nation should assume a greater authority over the weaker one, than the Treaty of protection or submission allows, the latter may consider the Treaty as broken, and provide for its safety according to its discretion. If it were otherwise, the inferior nation would lose by a convention which it had only formed with a view to its safety, and if it were still bound by its engagements when its protector abuses them, and openly violates his own, the Treaty would,

† Vattel Chap. 16. Page 93.

\* Vattel Chap. 16. Page 94.

to the weaker party, prove a downright deception." If then such privileges may be retained by a State voluntarily submitting to another, the mere tacit acknowledgment of homage implied by the transmission of a Golden Flower, (for History does not record the admission on the part of Quedah of the right of the Siamese to any further concession,) we cannot fail to regard the subjugation of Quedah as an unjustifiable usurpation.

In support of the opinion which I have here advanced, regarding the dependence of Quedah upon Siam, as implied from the transmission of a Golden Flower, it may be satisfactory to refer to the sentiments of Captain Light, and as he obtained the grant, he was the best qualified to form a judgement upon this question. In reply to the directions of the Supreme Government that he would ascertain "whether the King of Quedah was the rightful Sovereign thereof," he thus writes, "It does not appear, either by writing or tradition, that Quedah was ever governed by the Siamese Laws or Customs. There would have been some remains had there been any affinity between them. The people of Quedah are Mahometans, their letter Arabic, and their Language Java. The King originally from Menangkabau, in Sumatra; but as Quedah was very near Ligore, a Kingdom of Siam, they sent every third year a Gold and Silver Tree, as a token of homage to Ligore. This was done to preserve a good correspondence, for, at this period, the Siamese were very rich and numerous, but no warriors, and a considerable trade was



carried on between Ligore and Quedah. After the destruction of Siam, the King of Ava demanded the Gold and Silver Tree, and received the token of homage from Quedah. Pia Tack drove away the Burmans, and built a new City at Siam; the King of Quedah sent the Tree to Siam, and kept peace with both, paying homage sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other, and often to both."

Between the years 1780 and 1785, we find the Bengal Government had turned its attention to endeavouring to secure an eligible post, in or near the Straits of Malacca, for the purpose of establishing a small Settlement, for the promotion of the commerce of Western India, and the security of our Traders passing to and from China and other quarters; and we are indebted to the troubles in which the Rajah of Quedah was involved, by the oppressions of Siam, for the Settlement of Prince of Wales Island. Under the expectation of securing a powerful Ally, and encouraged, no doubt, by promises of protection and support from the British Government, which Mr. Light evidently pledged, the King of Quedah ceded the Island of Pulo Pinang, by which he incurred the certainty of the almost entire abstraction of the foreign trade from his Dominions, and an actual loss in revenue of 20,000 Dollars annually. Being afterwards disappointed in the hopes of succour from the British Government, on which he had confidently relied, and oppressed by the numerous demands of Siam for vessels, men, and arms, which he assures the Superintend-



ant were without precedent or example, and confident in his own strength, he determined to make an attempt to free himself from such thralldom and oppression, and while the Siamese were engaged in a distant war, make a sudden incursion into, and possess himself of the provinces contiguous to his own State. He was however dissuaded from such an enterprize, by the British Resident, who advised him to reply to the Emperor of Siam's demand, that the distressed State of the Quedah Country could not afford such supplies, the wars between the Dutch and Malays having for several years, prevented any foreign Trade with Quedah, and that this year was attended with a scarcity; in the mean time, he was advised, not to neglect providing for his own security. Mr. Light also told him, that were he determined to put his projects into execution, of making an attack upon the Siamese Provinces, "being the aggressor, he would put it out of the power of the Honorable Company having any excuse for making war against Siam." Having now brought down the history of the several States to the period when the British Government formed a Settlement at Pinang, it may be useful to refer to the opinions of some persons, whose experience enabled them to describe the political relations of the several States, at that time.

The most authentic accounts which are to be found of the political connection, which has subsisted between Ava and Siam and the other States in their vicinity, are

contained in the correspondence of some of the earlier settlers at Pinang. Captain James Scott, a Gentleman well known in this quarter, many years ago, as an Eastern Trader, and afterwards a Merchant and Planter at Pinang, resided some time, at the Island of Junk Ceylon, at Quedah, and at Selangore, and from his long acquaintance and intercourse with the Malays, was well qualified to describe the countries which had so long been the scene of his Mercantile operations. He submitted to the Supreme Government a Paper professing to convey "some Idea of the Political situation of the Countries East of the Bay of Bengal," of which I shall here transcribe an extract, as necessary to a proper understanding of the political relations at the period. "Arracan, Pegue and Siam formerly possessed the Shores from Chittagong to Quedah. Some 20 years ago, the oppressions of Government drove the Merchants from frequenting the Ports of Arracan, since which they have been little heard of. Pegue has lately been conquered, and is become a Province of Ava. Siam formerly possessed from Martaban to Quedah, which last was tributary to them. Ava was little known to Europeans, previous to their some 25 years ago over-running Siam; they then extirpated the Royal Family, burnt the Capital of Juthia, carried off immense numbers of Inhabitants, leaving that Country, once so rich, a mere wild. The Siamese under a bold Usurper, called Pia Tack, drove home the Burmans, and recovered all they had overrun, except Martaban, Tavoy, and Mergui,

which they retain at this time. They have dwindled, under Ava, to mere Villages, from losing the Exports of the Western Provinces of Siam, which have in some measure come to Salang. In 1778-9, Pia Tack conquered Camboja, Chia, and Ligor, and overwhelmed the whole Peninsula; but in 1783, Camboja revolted. He sent an Army against them under Pias Check and Sussin, two Brothers, who having reduced Camboja, returned to Bangkok, killed Pia Tack, and possessed themselves of the Government, where they now jointly reign. In 1783, Ava made War on Arracan; the event is yet unsettled. Tonquin and Cochin China during the last ten years, have been depopulated by Civil Wars, and the eruptions of some barbarous Mountaineers, which attacked either party, and plundered both. In 1783-4, the one competitor drove the other out, who retired to Siam for assistance. The successful one sent a French Missionary Bishop to Pondicherry to solicit the assistance of the French against Siam and the Mountaineers. The Dutch had likewise an Agent there, who offered the assistance of Batavia. His negociation failed, and we heard he lost his life. In 1784-5, the Siamese sent an Army of 15,000 Men, and 150 Prows and Junks. The Fleet by accident or treachery were surprised and taken, and only 5,000 Men, with their Generals, reached Siam again. Ava has joined Cochin China and the French, and every thing is preparing on the opening of the dry season, to conquer Siam; and, from all accounts, the internal State of Siam

is weak beyond conception; that bond of union which seems to cement large Empires, is feeble under the two jarring Usurpers, and in a few years will probably fall to pieces of itself, without a foreign concussion."

After Pinang had been occupied a short time, Captain Glass, the Commanding Officer of the Troops, gives the following description of the several States of the Peninsula, and their more powerful neighbours, which, though embracing other points foreign to the present subject of discussion, had better be preserved entire, as a satisfactory elucidation of the sentiments of those, most conversant with the subject in those days, of the connection subsisting between the Malayan States, and the powerful Empires of Siam and Ava, as well as the policy which appeared proper to be pursued by the British Government, in regulating their new Establishment and Connections to the Eastward.

" 1st. The Empire of Ava, with whose Southern Provinces there will be a considerable communication. The haughty ferocity of this people, and the lofty pretensions of their Sovereigns who treat all men as their Slaves, prevents Treaties of Commerce being formed with them, or if formed, having any reliance thereon, because a compact supposes an equality, which cannot exist in the relation of Master and Slave; it is immaterial whether the relation exist in fact, or in idea, the consequence is the same. From a small tribe called Purmaa, they have conquered Cossac to the Northward, Pegue and Arracan

to the Southward, three independent States; they have likewise wrested the Provinces of Martaban, Tavoy, and Mergui from Siam; but while the Siamese can keep them employed, there is little to fear from them here; but should they be successful in the present Contest with Siam, they may again adopt their wish, the reduction of the Malayan Peninsula. This is the only Native Power whose Force we have to fear in open War.

2d. Is Jan Salang. This Island is a distant and neglected Province of the Empire of Siam, which in itself has no effective force to be dreaded.

3d. Is Quedah, which comprehends a Sea Coast of 40 to 50 Leagues, and the best cultivated part of the Malayan Peninsula. Its population exceeds 40,000. From its vicinity to this place, the plenty of Provisions of all kinds which it produce, it deserves your Lordship's most pointed attention, lying contiguous to the two potent Empires of Siam and Ava; to the former of which it is tributary, or more properly, pays homage, by sending yearly a Flower of Gold and another of Silver, which, with Presents, and an inoffensiveness in the people, has hitherto preserved them from the attempts of either. But the trifling conduct of the present King and his Council, is likely to give occasion of offence to both, he will then fall a sacrifice to the successful. In giving this Island to the Company, the King of Quedah and his nobles could not have foreseen, what they now feel, a loss of Trade and consequent Revenue, and no reasoning will convince them,

that an increased demand, and consequent increased, price for the produce of their Country, will in time, prove an equivalent.

The Revenues of all the Malay Princes arise from the profits on a restrictive Commerce in general, managed by a Malabar, who acquires influence in consequence of the command of Cash, and generally expends a large part of the profits in support of this influence; free from these depredations, the Revenues of Quedah amount to 100,000 Rupees annually. This small sum, with the feudal obligations of his people, generally ill complied with and ineffective when collected, cannot cope with either Siam or Ava in force or resources, but to allow this country to become a Province to either, would render our supply at this place dependant on the nod of a despot. By securing the independence of this Country, the Honorable Company would acquire a dependant and useful Ally, secure the supplies at this Settlement, until the Island can supply itself, and virtually in the end, as our influence increases, an accession of about 40,000 Subjects.

4th. Is Perak, which borders on Quedah, and extends about 50 leagues inland; near Perak River is well cultivated, and it contains 30,000 people, exports annually 5,000 Peculs of Tin, which is delivered to the Dutch at 32 Spanish Dollars per Bahar of 428 lbs. The Dutch have a small Stockade Fort, with about 50 people there to prevent the Natives from carrying the Tin to other Markets; but with all their precautions, the quan-

tity they used to receive, is greatly lessened since the Settlement of this Island. The people of Perak are in general very ignorant, their Revenues so small and their residence so far inland, that little is to be feared from their animosity, and less to be hoped from their friendship while connected with the Dutch.

5th. Salengore. This Country runs to Cape Rachado, but so much reduced by the late war with the Dutch, that the population of 40 leagues of a very fine Country, does not, I am credibly informed, exceed 1,000 or 1,500 people.—The King, I understand, wishes to give the English Company the sovereignty of his Country.

6th. Rumbow, an inland Country and while the Dutch possess Rhio, they claim the Dominion of Johore, which takes in the whole of that side of the Peninsula.

On the Eastern side are Pahang and Tringano, the population of which is not great. Patani has lately been reduced to a Province of Siam.

From this view of the East side of the Bay of Bengal and Malay Peninsula, it appears, there are only three Powers, whose effective force requires attention; all the others will soon consider our nod as law. The three are Ava, Siam, and the Dutch. As the plans of the two first are the result of ignorance and caprice, in the whimsical despot, it is hard to conclude any thing by indication, &c.

A Month after taking possession of Pinang, viz. 12th September 1786, Captain Light, the Superintendent gives the following information to the Supreme Government



of India. "The Burmans divided their Army into several parties, and ravaged at the same time the Countries of Upper and Lower Siam, Ligore, Chia, Chompow, Mandelong, and Bancy, burning and destroying and massacring without compassion or exception. On a sudden, their Army disappeared, but whether by the Siamese, or occasioned by a dissension among the Generals, is uncertain, as both are alleged. The Siamese recovered the places they had lost, and the King's Brother, Sooram, who came to Ligore with a small Army, had no sooner put to death the 2,000 Burmans left there as a guard, than they resolved to call to account all the neighbouring States who had not given the Siamese aid against the Burmans. He sent for the Chiefs of Patani, the Kings of Quedah and Tringano, none of whom choosing to enter the Court of so desperate a Tyrant, sent their several excuses, with Presents, which he returned, and began immediately upon Porgit. This place was deemed impregnable. It was surrounded by seven thick rows of Bamboos; within the Bamboos was an exceeding wide and deep Canal, and within the Canal, a strong Rampart of Earth, on which was mounted a number of large Cannon. The area within these walls contained all the Inhabitants, Cattle and Grain; their strength amounted to near 4,000 fighting men. The Chief had rendered himself obnoxious to his people from tyrannizing. This and their confidence of situation, gave the Siamese an easy conquest. The reduction of this place has made every one tremble for his



safety, and though the King of Quedah has avoided the storm for the present by submission, yet there is no dependance upon the word of a man who has no moral restraint whatever, but as policy will prevent his entering Quedah while he can procure supplies from it, until the Season for cutting Paddy, it is possible some accident may arise to destroy his schemes.'

We may gather from the forgoing details, that for some time prior to, and about the period the British Government took possession of Prince of Wales Island, there had been, and was, an almost incessant warfare between the States Ava and Siam, and a Contest for preponderating influence over the Minor States in their neighbourhood, which involved these inferior powers in continual distress, and imposed upon them the necessity, either of affording supplies to the utmost extent of their limited means, or of being entirely subdued by their more powerful and overbearing neighbours. Mr. Scott admits that "Siam formerly possessed from Martaban to Quedah, which last was tributary to them." Captain Glass states, that Quedah pays Homage to Siam by sending yearly a Flower of Gold and another of Silver, "which with Presents and an inoffensiveness in the people, has hitherto preserved them;" and Captain Light says, the King had "avoided the storm for the present by submission," yet there is no mention that Quedah was immediately under the controul of Siam, or that it did more than merely send a token of homage, or acknowledgement of

inferiority to a superior power. The King of Quedah, as an independant Sovereign, being requested to permit a British Settlement to be formed at Pinang, thus submits his proposals to the Governor General of Bengal, as the conditions of such cession.

“Whereas Captain Light, Dewa Rajah, came here and informed me that the Rajah of Bengal ordered him to request Pulo Pinang from me, to make an English Settlement, where the Agents of the Company might reside, for the purpose of trading and building Ships of War, to protect the Island and to cruize at Sea, so that if any enemies of ours from the East or the West should come to attack us, the Company would regard them as enemies also and fight them, and all the expences of such Wars shall be borne by the Company. All Ships, Junks or Prows, large and small, which come from the East or the West and wish to enter the Quedah River to Trade, shall not be molested or obstructed, in any way, by the Company, but all persons desirous of coming to Trade with us shall be allowed to do as they please; and at Pulo Pinang the same.

The Articles of Opium, Tin and Rattans are monopolies of our own, and the Rivers Mooda, Prye and Krian are the places from whence Tin, Rattans, Canes, besides other Articles are obtained. When the Company's people therefore, shall reside at Pulo Pinang, I shall lose the benefit of this monopoly, and I request the Captain will explain this to the Governor General and beg, as

a compensation for my losses, 30,000 Dollars a year to be paid Annually to me as long as the Company reside at Pulo Pinang. I shall permit the free export of all sorts of Provisions and Timber for Ship building.

Moreover, if any of the Agents of the Company make loans or advances to any of the Nobles, Chiefs or Rajahs of the Kedda Country, the Company shall not hold me responsible for any such advances. Should any one in this Country become my enemy, even my own Children, all such shall be considered as enemies also of the Company; the Company shall not alter their engagements of alliance, so long as the heavenly bodies continue to perform their revolutions; and when any enemies attack us from the interior, they also shall be considered as enemies of the Company. I request from the Company, Men and Powder, Shot, Arms large and small, also Money for the purposes of carrying on the war, and when the business is settled, I will repay the advances; should these propositions be considered proper and acceptable to the Governor General, he may send a confidential Agent to Pulo Pinang to reside; but if the Governor General does not approve of the terms and conditions of this engagement, let him not be offended with me. Such are my wishes, to be made known to the Company, and this Treaty must be faithfully adhered to, till the most remote times.

Written on Tuesday 24th Shawal, 1199."

Here no mention is made of the Rajah of Kedah being tributary to any other State, and the offer is accepted

from him as an independent King. If we considered him a tributary Prince, why accept such a grant from him?

We now come to the most delicate branch of the discussion, but I shall have no difficulty in shewing, that the policy of the British Government to give protection to the Quedah State, is no less manifest, than its moral obligation to do so. It would appear, that prior to Captain Light's negotiations with the Rajah of Quedah, and his obtaining a grant of the Island of Pinang, an ineffectual application had been made, for the same purpose, under the orders of the Supreme Government; a proof, that the acquisition of a Settlement in this quarter, was considered important and useful. Mr. Light thus writes, "As I understand this Government had made application to the King of Quedah for the Island of Pinang without success, with the consent of the Governor General, I made use of the influence and interest I had with the King and his Ministry, to procure a Grant of the Island of Pinang to the Honorable Company. The King of Quedah who now solicits your friendship and Alliance, and has sent by me a Grant of the Island of Pinang, has annexed to the Grant some requests."

The Propositions made by the King of Quedah as the conditions of the Cession, were separately remarked upon by Mr. Light, and he makes the following observations upon the 5th Article, which stipulated for assistance and protection in Arms and men.—This Article comprehends

the principal and almost only reason why the King wishes an Alliance with the Honorable Company, and in the Treaty, must be worded with caution, so as to distinguish between an Enemy endeavouring or aiming at his destruction or the Kingdom, and one who may simply fall into displeasure with either the King or his Ministers."

The interpretation of this is not difficult, and it appears to be very certain, that Mr. Light gave assurances, that such a close and intimate alliance would be formed between the King of Quedah and the British Government, by the cession of Pulo Pinang, as would ensure his safety, and the independence of his Kingdom. The Supreme Government, in accepting the Grant, acquaints Mr. Light, that "It has been resolved to accept the King of Quedah's offer to the Company of the Harbour and Island of Pinang. This Government will always keep an armed Vessel stationed to guard the Island of Pinang, and the Coast adjacent belonging to the King of Quedah. The Governor General and Council, on the part of the English India Company will take care, that the King of Quedah shall not be a sufferer by an English Settlement being formed on the Island of Pinang."

That he has been a sufferer, there is no question; and if, as it is alledged by many, that the Emperor of Siam was displeased because he gave Pinang to the English, and had he possessed the means, would have visited him with severe punishment at the time, (though, by the bye, the Records shew that Siam was, at the period coeval with the forma-

tion of the Settlement of Pinang, in a state fully capable of subduing the Quedah Country,—her Arms having been victorious over some of the Malay States on the other side of the Peninsula, and there is little doubt the consideration of the alliance of the King of Quedah with the British Government, and the probability of their aiding him, prevented such an attempt,) we are the more bound, on these considerations, to defend the Quedah Country from invasion. But if there were any feelings of irritation at that time, on the part of the Siamese, the long interval which has elapsed, might be supposed sufficient to have done away with them. We engaged, it seems, to have an armed Vessel to “defend the Coast of Quedah at all times.” It must be recollected however, that Quedah was taken by an attack from Seaward, the Fleet which captured it having been equipped at Traang, on this side the Peninsula. Sir John Macpherson, then Governor General, in accepting the Island, replies to the King’s Letter, and makes no objection to the proposed conditions, which he submits to England for approval; the King of course naturally expecting, from the promises of Captain Light, and the tacit assent of the Governor General, that they would all be approved of by the Honorable Company. “Your friendly Letter containing a Grant of Pulo Pinang to the Honorable Company, was delivered to me by Captain Francis Light, the 6th February 1786. Captain Light also made known to me the requests of my Friend and Brother, which I, having the interest and friendship of

my noble friend at heart, have already transmitted to England for the approbation of the King of England, and the Honorable English Company. I have likewise ordered a Ship of War for the defence of the Island, and protection of the Coast of Quedah." This last Paragraph implies clearly, that it was intended to secure Quedah against an Invasion or attack from Seaward. Not more than a Month after Pinang was occupied, Mr. Light writes, as I have before noticed; "The King of Quedah has reason to be afraid of such a Tyrant, (the King of Siam,) and hopes to secure himself by an Alliance with the Honorable Company."

This was a very natural expectation, and we are no doubt, indebted to the troubles which the King of Quedah experienced from the Burmahs and Siamese, for our Settlement of Pinang. He hoped to secure the protection of the English. It is acknowledged by Mr. Light, that the King of Quedah sent a token of homage to Ava, as well as to Siam, or in other words, that he was oppressed by two contending powers, and to get rid of his difficulties, he formed an Alliance with the English, by giving, as he thought, a *quid pro quo*, in the cession of an Island eligibly situated, and which had been solicited by the Supreme Government. This was accepted from him as a Sovereign Prince, and we are constrained, therefore, to view him and his Heirs as the Sovereigns of the Quedah Country; otherwise we contend against our own right to hold the Island, except by the sufferance of the



Siamese. We know (at least Mr. Light appears to have been aware of,) the motives which induced the King to give Pinang to the English. We accepted it with such a knowledge and we should be guilty of great inconsistency to deny it. It must be always borne in recollection, also, in weighing the merits of this important question, that there was no stipulated payment, at the time of the Grant, for the loss the King would sustain, by the abstraction of the Trade from his Dominions. His compliance with Captain Light's request originated, not in pecuniary considerations, but in the expectation of gaining a powerful Ally. But, if more proof were wanting, that Mr. Light gave the King assurances of protection, the following Paragraph of his Letter to the Governor General, dated 5th October 1786, will put the matter beyond dispute. "I returned for answer" (to a Letter the King addressed to him concerning an expected invasion from Siam,) "that his best policy is to have as little communication as possible" (alluding to the Burmahs and Siamese,) "but to put his Country in a state of defence, and that while the English are here they will assist him if distressed."

Who that reads this will say, that Mr. Light considered Quedah dependant on Siam? He regards it certainly as a dangerous and powerful neighbour; but would he have leagued with Quedah and told the King, "the English while here, will assist you if distressed," if he had viewed it as a tributary State? No arguments can be of any



avail as to what were our original intentions, and what was the King's conviction, after such an unequivocal admission as this. Mr. Light appears to have been fully aware of the value of the acquisition. In his Letter of 15th September 1786, he says. "The excellency of this situation for a Commercial Exchange, is evident from the united opinions of every person who has been here, Europeans and Indians. From the heart burning of the Dutch, and from the jealousy of the people of Quedah, who already foresee they must be dependant upon this place for any foreign Trade, &c." We take away from Quedah its valuable Trade,—we withhold the only return stipulated by the King, in the first instance, viz. protection and assistance, (for even at this time, there appears to have been no pecuniary compensation granted,) and we wonder that the people of Quedah should be jealous of us. I have omitted to notice the opinion of J. Price, as to whom the Island belonged, which is contained in a Letter to the Governor General dated 23d February 1786. "I prefer it (Pinang,) to the Negrais, as it is an Island sufficiently detached from the Continent to prevent surprise or even attack from the Natives, and being a free gift from the acknowledged and rightful owner, can never give cause for War."

It may appear superfluous to multiply proofs that Quedah was an independent Kingdom, at the period of our forming the Settlement of Pinang, but if further evidence were wanting, the opinion of the highest Authority in In-

dia at the time, may be produced in evidence. The Governor General records his sentiments in a Minute, as follows. "The Grant of Pinang seems, in fact, to have been procured by the influence of the principal Officer of the King of Quedah, with a view to secure himself, a place of retreat against his numerous enemies, and the ostensible object of the King himself, in making the Grant, originated in the idea of supporting his own independence by the protection of the English, and his attachment to us will either be strengthened or changed into animosity, as that protection is granted or withheld. This protection however cannot be effectually given, without involving us in disputes with the Burmahs or Siamese, the latter of whom are the most powerful."

Throughout his proceedings, we trace the anxiety of Mr. Light, to obtain the sanction of the Supreme Government, for effectual aid to the King of Quedah, which he had no doubt promised, and we find him still holding out expectations. He thus notices, (in his Diary) an interview with the King, "The King received me without any State, and seemed much troubled; he told me there was a passage in the Letter (from the Governor General,) he did not understand. It seemed to threaten him if he did not comply with the Governor General's request; he asked me if I had a Copy. I told him it must be a mistake in the translation, and what the Translator had taken for a menace to him, was meant to his enemies; he said this was probable, and ordered three people each

to make a separate translation. Yesterday the King of Quedah sent the Laksamana to enquire if I would consent to the people of Patani settling opposite to Pinang, and assist him, if attacked by the Siamese," and again "This day, the King of Quedah sent his Brother, the Laksamana, with a Letter; the purport as follows; We have received intelligence that Ava has mustered his Army to attack Siam, and arrived at the borders. We have also received a Letter from the King of Siam, commanding us to defend the Island of Junk Ceylon against the Burmahs, who are expected with a Fleet of Prows and Ships. We have sent our Brother, the Laksamana, to accompany our friend to us, that we may profit by his Counsel, and consider what is best to be done for the safety of our Country." The King of Quedah would not willingly obey the orders of the King of Siam, and applied to us for aid, which he considered himself entitled to. The more I consider Captain Light's proceedings, the more am I convinced of the unkindness of the conduct towards the King of Quedah. It has been seen, that Captain Light acknowledged he had assured the King he would support him, if in distress; that he told him the Governor General menaced his Enemies, and that he received the Island on condition of protection; and we find him writing to the Supreme Government on the 17th May 1787, nearly a year after we had possession of the Island; "The Honorable Board were pleased to mention in their Instructions, that they were

willing to give a pecuniary consideration to the King of Quedah. Soon after the Ravensworth sailed, the King became very pressing, and we found for a considerable time, a difficulty in procuring provisions. I wrote to the King it was the intention of Government to make him a compensation for the Island, and to keep him in good humour I trusted him with 20 Chests of Opium, at 250 Dollars per Chest, since which, we have been plentifully supplied with provisions. There is a necessity for coming to some terms with the King of Quedah while the fears of the Siamese and Burmahs are upon him; and I have reason to believe nothing will be acceptable without Government promising the King protection. This place will be subject to many inconveniences without such an alliance as will oblige the King to furnish the Settlement at all times with provisions, and preventing other European Nations from settling in any other part of his Country. Should the Siamese be permitted to take possession of his Country, we shall not only find an insolent and troublesome neighbour, but be under the necessity of assisting them in their Wars, or to go to War with them ourselves. I humbly conceive that it will be easier, and attended with less expense to the Honorable Company, to declare at once the King of Quedah under our protection; little else than the name of the Company will be wanted; the longer it is delayed, the greater will appear the consequence of the Island, and the more difficulty there will be in fixing a Settlement. The Danes,

the Dutch, and the French have solicited permission to have only a house in Quedah; either of them will promise much, and should the King consider himself aggrieved or disappointed by the English, he may in despair seek for other Alliance."

The bias upon Mr. Light's mind is too obvious to be mistaken, and it is equally clear he held out expectations of assistance from the English, 'ere the British Standard was hoisted at Pinang; otherwise, as he remarks, the King would have sought an Alliance with some other European Power, who would have made unconditional promises. Why also, if the Island was a voluntary grant of the King, as it is termed, (though this appears strange, when we consider that the King of Quedah had given a decided refusal to a former application on behalf of the Supreme Government,) should Mr. Light state "the King was pressing for a Settlement," and why should he support his claims? It does appear however, that the Supreme Government objected to interfere, but why was Mr. Light permitted to take possession, without coming to a clear explanation of our intentions in the first instance? The same Paper which contained the Grant, contained also the conditions, viz. protection; and the Governor General writes, "I have ordered a Man of War to guard Pulo Pinang and the Coast of Quedah," inferring ostensibly at least, that the protection sought for, would be granted.

Captain Glass, the Commanding Officer of the Troops at the time, and a discreet, sensible man, by all accounts, gives his sentiments as to the propriety of effectual aid being afforded to the Rajah of Quedah, and insinuates, as plainly as his respect and deference for his superiors would admit of, in an Official communication, that there had been some evasion. He remarks, "This feeling," (alluding to the abstraction of the Trade from Quedah, and the discontent of the Quedah people,) "and evasive answers Mr. Light has been obliged to give them to many requisitions, has impressed them with the idea, that they have been deceived, and as no idea tends more to estrange their affections, &c." They find themselves deceived after a year's trial. It may be argued perhaps, why did the King, in making a Treaty afterwards, not insist upon our protection? The fact was, he saw we were in possession, and he knew it was in vain for him to attempt to expel the English. He therefore prudently made the best bargain he could, by accepting Money; but still this is no justification of the want of good faith, evinced on the occasion. It was impossible that they could be so blind as to avoid foreseeing a great loss in their Trade, by the Settlement of Pinang, but as I have already observed, they were content to sacrifice that advantage for the greater security against the encroachments of the Siamese which they hoped to obtain by an Alliance with the English.

In Capt. Light's Account of Junk Ceylon, he says "The King of Quedah claims the Dominion of these Seas (that

is between Salang and Mergui,) and grants a License for collecting the Birds Nests and Sea Slug to some of his Officers, for which he receives about 12, or 1500 Dollars per Annum. After the loss of Siam, (alluding to the Conquest of that Country by the Burmahs,) the Malays got possession of the Island, (Junk Ceylon,) and the Laksamana of Quedah maintained an absolute authority, treating the Siamese as Slaves, until an accident inspired the Islanders with the idea of liberating themselves, which they performed in one night. The Laksamana constantly regretted the loss of this Island, and offered me 8,000 men, when it was proposed by Mr. Hastings to establish a Settlement there." It is far from probable, that the King of Quedah would have been allowed to reap the advantages of so lucrative a Trade, or to have laid claims to such extensive authority, if he had, in these days, been absolutely dependant on Siam.

But let us now turn our attention to the extremely difficult and unpleasant situation in which Captain Light found himself, who, there can be no doubt, promised more than he was permitted, by the superior and controuling authorities to perform. In his letter dated 18th June 1787, he says. " I have supplied the King of Quedah with 20 Chests of Opium at the price of 250 Spanish Dollars per Chest, which I do not expect he will pay until the Company have come to some settlement with him." In truth, Mr. Light felt his own honor at stake ; he had engaged more than he could fulfil, and he was glad to pa-



cify the King in any way he could. This is a humiliating confession he is obliged to make,—“ I do not expect he will pay for it until the Company have come to some Settlement with him.” What Settlement? If, as we are told, the Island was a free Grant, why should Mr. Light insist upon our obligation to come to a settlement, unless he felt that he had given a solemn pledge?

The Island was taken possession of on the 12th August 1786, and we do not find the positive decision of the Governor General against affording protection, till January 1788, when the sentiments of the Supreme Government on that head are communicated to Mr. Light. “ With respect to protecting the King of Quedah against the Siamese, the Governor General in Council has already decided against any measures that may involve the Company in Military operations against any of the Eastern Princes. It follows of course, that any Acts or Promises which may be construed into an obligation to defend the King of Quedah, are to be avoided. If however Mr. Light can employ the countenance or influence of the Company for the Security of the King of Quedah, consistently with these Rules, the Governor General in Council has no objection to his adopting the measure, strictly guarding against any Acts or Declaration, that may involve the honor, credit, or troops of the Company.”

We shall now see, that the communication of such sentiments and determination, was productive of the greatest embarrassment to the Superintendent, and what



a hazardous game Mr. Light had to play, in consequence of his inability to support the King of Quedah; that the latter finding he had been deceived, begins to devise measures for his own security, and retaliating upon those by whom he conceived himself unfairly dealt with; this is styled by Mr. Light "duplicity and cunning." He acquaints the Supreme Government, that "Captain Wright in the Grampus, who arrived here on the 21st Instant from Siam reports, at Siam they questioned him particularly about the strength of this place. The French Padre begged of him, not to mention Pinang, for the King was exceedingly disturbed at the English being there; they told him, at his departure, the King had sent a Letter desiring the Honorable Company to take Mergui. Two Messengers from Quedah were at Siam, and report spread, that the Rajah of Quedah had sent to Siam complaints against the English; the same report came from Junk Ceylon, with this addition, that the Rajah had wrote for assistance to drive the English from Pinang,"—and again, "I should be extremely sorry, from any ill-grounded apprehension, to put Government to any unnecessary charge or trouble; but it is impossible to say what may be the intentions of the Siamese. If they destroy the Country of Quedah, they deprive us of our great supplies of Provisions and the English name will suffer disgrace in tamely suffering the King of Quedah to be cut off. We shall then be obliged to war in self-defence against the Siamese and

Malays; should your Lordship resolve upon protecting Quedah, two Companies of Sepoys, with 4 six pounder Field Pieces, a supply of small Arms and Ammunition, will effectually defend this Country against the Siamese, who though they are a very destructive Enemy, are by no means formidable in battle; and it will be much less expense to give the King of Quedah timely assistance, than be obliged to drive out the Siamese, after they have possessed themselves of the Country."

Captain Glass also writes to the Governor General about the same time, "The King of Quedah still continues to profess friendship towards us, but from his own want of resolution and the intriguing disposition of his Council, I do not think his professions are much to be relied upon. —But am still of opinion, (for reasons already enumerated to your Lordship,) that if his friendship and independence could be secured, it would greatly add to the future peace and welfare of this Settlement."

The following Extracts from Mr. Light's communication to the Supreme Government shew clearly, that the King was still buoyed up with hopes of our protection, and though even at this period, Mr. Light had reason to suspect his friendship, yet the Rajah consented to follow the advice of the Superintendent and refrained from availing himself of the means, then apparently at his disposal, not only of subduing the Siamese in his immediate vicinity, but of obtaining a large accession of Territory and Subjects; an attempt he would not have thought of making, unless he

had been pretty confident, that it would be attended with a favorable result. Instead, therefore, of returning aggression by aggression, it seems he followed the advice of Mr. Light, and kept merely upon the defensive. This entitles him to some consideration on our part. About this time, viz. in June 1788, Mr. Light endeavoured to negotiate for a final Settlement of the King of Quedah's claims,—he says—“I made an offer to the King of 10,000 Dollars per Annum, for 8 years, or 4,000 Dollars per Annum, for so long a period as the Honorable Company should continue in possession of this Island; to these offers, I have received no answer. I have endeavoured to soothe His Majesty into compliance with the offers of your Lordship, and have hinted, that although the Company did not wish to make Alliances which might occasion disputes with powers they were at peace with, they had not positively forbid my assisting him, if really distressed.”

About three years after taking possession of Pinang, viz. in July 1789, we find Mr. Light is under considerable apprehension that the King of Quedah would form other Alliances, and being disappointed in the expectation of succour from the British Government, his attachment was daily subsiding. The negative which the King gives to the offer of money in the first instance demonstrates, that a pecuniary recompense was not his object, and the ungenerous reception of the offer, proves too clearly, that he considered himself deceived. Mr. Light says “I make no doubt, but that the King of Siam will take

the first opportunity to send his Troops into Quedah and Trangano," and afterwards " I have entered on the Character of the Rajah of Quedah to prepare your Lordship for a scene of duplicity which he is endeavouring to effect, and which principally prevents my not embracing the present opportunity of waiting on your Lordship. After acquainting the King of Quedah of the intention of Government to allow him 10,000 Dollars for 7 or 8 years, he remained silent a considerable time, at last he acquainted me, that he did not like the offer, without stipulating for any particular sum of money, or mentioning what performance on the part of the Company would content him. Being informed, that he did not relish the idea of selling the Island, I asked him if he chosed to accept 4,000 Dollars per annum, for as long a time as the Honorable Company should continue in possession of the Island: to this after waiting a considerable time, he answered in the negative, at the same time by his letters and messengers he endeavoured to draw a full promise, that the Honorable Company would assist him with arms and men, in case an attack from the Siamese should render it necessary. This I evaded by telling him, no Treaty which was likely to occasion a dispute between the Honorable Company and the Siamese could be made without the approbation of the King of Great Britain at present, as there was no reason for his entering into war with the Siamese, he had nothing to fear; the Siamese and all other Country Powers would consider the English as his friends, and for that

reason, would not disturb him, unless provoked threeto by his bad policy." "From the information I have received. I am pretty well satisfied of the King having wrote to Malacca and Batavia to try if the Dutch would give him better terms, and last year, I hear he wrote to Pondicherry, to try if the French would undertake to defend his Country."

Neither Mr. Light, nor any of the succeeding Superintendents or Governors had it in their power to assist the King of Quedah, although his appeals were frequent, and his oppression intolerable. Availing himself of the arrival of the Governor General of India, Lord Minto, at Pinang, when His Lordship proceeded to Java, he addressed him a long Letter, dated 24th December 1810, detailing the whole history of his connexion with the English, and objects; the oppressions from Siam, and earnestly entreating the effectual aid and protection of the Supreme Government. The Letter is as follows: "In the year 1199, in the time of my late Father, Mr. Light bearing on the head of submission the commands of the King of England, and the orders of the Governor General, with various splendid presents appeared in the presence of my late Father, the Rajah, and requested in the name of the King of England, and of the Governor General, the Island of Pinang, for the purpose of repairing their Ships of War, highly extolling the greatness, splendour, power, wisdom, and beneficence of His Majesty, the prosperity of the Honorable Company, and all

those connected in the ties of friendship with them; promising, that the King and the Governor General would assist my Father in whatever might be required, and would prevent the Enemies of Quedah engaging in proceedings detrimental to the Country. Moreover, that they should pay rent for the Island 30,000 Dollars per Annum, and entered into sundry other engagements. My Father consulting with the Ministers, considering that the neighbouring Burmah and Siamese Nations were more powerful than Quedah, and having reflected that the King of Europe (i. e. England) was greater and more powerful than either of those nations, and that by means of the friendship of the English Company, these powers would be prevented from violence or molestation, perceived, that it would be very desirable to enter into Alliance with the Company, because the Europeans were just and regular in conducting all their affairs, and should the Burmah or Siamese Powers unjustly attempt violence, the powerful aid and protection of the Company, would enable my Father to repel the aggression. My Father was therefore extremely desirous of obtaining the friendship of the Company, under whose powerful shelter and protection, the Country might be transmitted to his descendants increased in strength. For this Country being small, and deficient in strength, would depend on the power of the Company to repel the attacks of the Siamese and Burmahs. My Father accordingly impressed with a sincere desire to obtain the friendship of the Company,

granted the Island of Pinang according to the request of Mr. Light, the Agent for the Governor General, and a written engagement, containing my Father's demands from the Company, was given to Mr. Light, for the purpose of being forwarded to the Governor General. After some time, Mr. Light returned to settle on the Island, bringing some Sepoys, and informed my Father, that the Governor General consented to his requests, and had sent people to settle on the Island; that the Writing from my Father had been transmitted by the Governor General to Europe, for the purpose of receiving the Royal Seal and Sanction, and that it would be returned in six Months. My Father accordingly granted permission to proceed to settle on the Island of Pinang, and sent his people to assist in the work, and his Officers to protect them from the Pirates in the commencement. My Father having waited some time, at the expiration of one year, requested the Writing from Mr. Light, who desired him to wait a little; at the end of six years no authentic writing could be obtained; he received 10,000 Dollars per Annum, but Mr. Light refused to fulfil the remainder of his engagements, and in consequence of my Father insisting upon having a Writing, agreeably to his former stipulation, a misunderstanding arose between Quedah and Pinang, after which a new Treaty of Alliance was concluded.

Since that time, many Governors have been placed over Pinang, but my Father was unable to obtain a writ-



ing either from Europe, or from the Governor General. In the year 1215, my Father left the Government to my Uncle, at which time, the then Lieutenant Governor of Pinang, Sir George Leith, requested the cession of a tract of land on the opposite Shore, alledging that the Island being small, the Company's people were distressed for procuring Timber, and the raising of Cattle. My Uncle being desirous to remove the uneasiness, granted a tract (of which the boundaries were defined) accordingly, placing entire dependence on the power of the Company to protect and defend him against his Enemies, and Sir George Leith made a new Treaty, consisting of fourteen articles, and constituting the two as one Country.\* This, and the former Treaty, are inscribed on the Company's Records. During the whole Government of my Father and Uncle, no injury or molestation of any consequence had been sustained, nor has any one ever offered to send my letter of supplication to the King or to the Governor General. I consequently desisted, and only communicated with the several Governors of the Island in matters relating to the two Countries, but no certain arrangement from Europe could be heard of, nor could I obtain any assurances on which I could depend.

Moreover so long as I have administered the Government of Quedah, during the time of the late King of Siam, his proceedings were just and consistent with former established custom and usage. Since the decease of the old

\* Vide Appendix.



King, and the accession of his Son to the Throne, in the year 1215,\* violence and severity have been exercised by the Siamese against Quedah, in demands and requisitions exceeding all former custom and usage, and which I cannot support for a length of time, the Rajahs of Quedah have been accustomed to submit to the authority in matters clearly proper and consistent with the established customs of the Government, for the sake of the preservation of the Country, being unable to contend with Siam, from the superior number of their people. During my Administration, their demands have been beyond measure increased, and heavy services have been required of me, inconsistent with the custom of the Country; these however I submitted to, as far as I have been able, for the sake of the people, and to prevent the danger of a rupture with them; how many services, unprecedented in former years, have I not performed, and what expences have I not incurred in carrying into effect their requisitions; nevertheless, I cannot obtain any good understanding with them, nor any peace, nor any termination to their injuries and oppressions; they no longer confide in me, and seek to attach blame, alledging, that I have joined with the Burmahs, with whom this year, they have made war, and their intention is to attack Quedah for the purpose of reducing the Country under their Government. I have in vain endeavoured to avert the enmity of Siam, but without any appearance of success. I have made known to

\* A. D. 1801.

the Governors of Pinang, every circumstance with relation to this Country and Siam, and have requested their advice and the assistance of the Company, on which my Father relied, because the Countries of Quedah and Pinang are as one Country, and as one Interest; when therefore Quedah is distressed, it cannot be otherwise with Pinang. The Governor advised me by all means to avoid coming to a rupture with Siam, alledging, that it was not in his power to afford me assistance, for that the Supreme Government in Europe had forbidden all interference in the wars of the neighbouring powers. Perhaps this would be improper with respect to other Countries, but Quedah and Pinang are as one Country; all the Ryots and People are much distressed by the labours necessarily imposed to avert the resentment of Siam, and every exertion on my part has been made to prevent coming to a rupture with that power, but I was unable to submit to demands exceeding all former precedent, which induced me to apply to the Governor of Pinang for the Company's aid, to enable me to repel their demands, for my Father having transmitted to me his friendship and Alliance with the Company, it would be otherwise a reflection upon the power of the King of England, who is accounted a Prince greater and more powerful than any other. I conceive, that the Countries of Quedah and Pinang have but one interest, and perhaps the King and my friend may not have been well informed, and in consequence the Governor of Pinang has not been authorized to afford assist-

ance, and that should they be acquainted therewith, they would consider it impossible to separate the two countries. In consequence, I request my friend to issue directions, and to forward a representation to the King, and to the Honorable Company, of the matters contained in this Letter. I request that the engagements contracted for by Mr. Light with my late Father, may be ratified, as my Country and I are deficient in strength; the favor of His Majesty the King of England extended to me, will render his name illustrious for justice and beneficence, and the grace of His Majesty will fill me with gratitude; under the power and Majesty of the King, I desire to repose in safety from the attempts of all my Enemies, and that the King may be disposed to kindness and favor towards me, as if I were his own subject, that he will be pleased to issue his Commands to the Governor of Pinang to afford me aid and assistance in my distresses and dangers, and cause a regulation to be made by which the two countries may have but one interest; in like manner I shall not refuse any aid to Pinang, consistent with my ability. I further request a writing from the King, and from my friend, that it may remain as an assurance of the protection of the King, and descend to my successors in the Government. I place a perfect reliance in the favor and aid of my friend in all these matters."

The whole of Mr. Light's correspondence is corroborative of this candid exposition, and it was quite inconsis-

ent with reason to suppose, that Pinang was ceded without some very powerful inducements, in the way of promises, by Mr. Light, which, no doubt, in his eagerness to obtain the grant, were liberal and almost unlimited, and that his inability to perform them was the occasion of much mental suffering to him.

During the long period of twenty-four years, viz. from 1786, the complaints to the several Superintendents and Governors of Pinang, by the King of Quedah, of the oppressive demands of Siam, were frequent and oft repeated. In July 1810, he writes to Governor Bruce. "The Country of Quedah being small, and situated in the neighbourhood of the extensive Kingdom of Siam, it has been the custom established from time immemorial, to send tributary presents of Gold Flowers to Siam once in three years. In my time, the Government of this Country, arising from internal circumstances, has become extremely exposed to the heavy requisitions imposed by the Siamese, unprecedented in former times, and for two or three years past, the pressure of these demands has been extreme. I was unable to avoid them; their people being numerous, and the Country of Quedah being insufficient to oppose them by force, I fulfilled their requisitions. When the Burmahs attacked Salang, it was rumoured abroad, that I had engaged in the service of Siam, and I have thereby acquired the severe resentment of that power, a matter of evil consequence to my Country. Having behaved well in this business, their demands

have increased beyond measure, and I am proportionably distressed. It is reported the Burmahs will return, and if not, that the forces of Siam will go to meet them; they have required from me a supply of Prows and men completely equipped with arms and ammunition. These proceedings are repugnant to my mind, and tend to lower me in the estimation of neighbouring Princes. They are also injurious to the character of the Company; inasmuch as notwithstanding the friendship and alliance which has subsisted from the time of my Grandfather to the present, I am exposed to demands so oppressive from Siam. For in former times, this Country was not exposed to danger and distress from Siam; but in my time first became endangered from them—The relations of friendship and alliance between my Father and the powerful Company, have been transmitted to me. How then can I become weak and distressed? I am decidedly desirous to meet personally with my friend, in order to effect a settlement of these affairs, it being improper for me to continue longer under such circumstances. Former Rajahs who were not connected with the Company, were neither reduced to weakness, nor difficulties.” Some months afterwards, in again soliciting the assistance of the British Government to oppose the Siamese encroachments, he says. “I now remind my friend and request to know whether my friend intends fulfilling the Treaty or not. It is necessary that my friend should be prepared and not make light of this communication, for the Siamese are numerous, and

consider none superior to themselves. True it is they possess many Countries from\* Cochin to Tringano; my friend will duly consider and reflect. Even should they not attack Pinang, yet when Quedah shall be destroyed, my friend will be distressed in many ways."

In applying for instructions to the Supreme Government about this time, the Government of Pinang represented "on the authority of generally received tradition, it is admitted by the best informed, that Quedah has from time immemorial acquiesced in the paramount authority of Siam, and as a token of vassalage has triennially sent to the King of that Country, the present of the Boonga Mas, or Golden Flower, notwithstanding which, such tribute was received and given more as an assurance of continued friendship, than an acknowledged (or till now claimed) right of feudal Military Service."

The Siamese, engaged perhaps with other more important affairs, seem to have allowed the King of Quedah a respite from the oppressions with which they had visited him during the few preceding years, as we do not find any further complaints from October 1811, until August 1813, when he addressed the Governor to acquaint him, that on a late occasion when the Bindahara of Quedah had been deputed to the Court of Siam, to present one of his Sons, in order, as he says, to put an end to the long subsisting troubles of Quedah, it was determined by the King of Siam and his Ministers to attack the

\* Cochin China.

Country of Perak, and to add it to the number of His Majesty's other Tributary States. The Correspondence of the King of Quedah from this period, namely August 1813, until the close of 1818, is principally relating to the Conquest of Perak, which was long insisted upon by Siam, and at last, after various evasive pretences, reluctantly complied with by Quedah, as the King expresses himself—"I did not go to War with Perak, of my own will, but by the orders of the King of Siam, of whom I was afraid, and therefore conquered Perak."

The Conquest of Perak can be justified by no precedent or example, nor by any one circumstance of a palliating nature. It was a wanton and most unprovoked aggression, and the execution of the odious and unjust measure was forced upon a power too weak to refuse compliance with a mandate which it in vain attempted to evade. It is but too evident, that there was a deep policy in this scheme of the Siamese forcing a power which yet possessed sufficient strength and means, to have made possibly not an unsuccessful defence, if the Siamese had proceeded to open hostilities, and which would, at all events, have offered considerable resistance, to expend it's men and resources in the subjugation of an inferior state, by which itself would fall an easy prey to the ambitious usurpation of that designing Government. The Political agent of the Pinang Government who proceeded to Perak in 1818, clearly establishes, that from the most accurate inquiries he was enabled to make,



there was no tradition of the Perak State ever having sent a Boonga Mas to Siam, or having ever been, in the remotest degree dependent. The King of Quedah exhausted every topic of Counsel to persuade the Rajah of Perak to comply, but in vain, and in reply to the admonitions of the Pinang Government, the Perak Chief said, "No such custom has been handed down to me from past times, as the sending of a Boonga Mas either to Siam or Quedah," and positively refused compliance. In another Letter, he says. "I am a King of the ancient race. I am he who hold the Royal Sword and the Dragon Beetel Stand, and the Shell Fish which came out of the Sea, which came down from the Hill of Segangtang," and again. "I am the oldest of all the Kings of these parts, such as the King of Siack, Salengore, Rhio, Quedah, and Tringano. With respect to the desire of the Kings of Siam and Quedah, I cannot consent to it, should war even be the consequence. I must try my strength with them, for such a custom was neither heard of, or attempted to be imposed on Perak. Now for the first time the Rajah of Quedah demands a Boonga Mas to be sent to Siam, in an unaccountable manner. I will not comply with this his desire. Had it been usual from times past with Perak to send a Boonga Mas to Quedah, or Siam, I should have done so, according to ancient custom." In November 1816, the King of Quedah's messenger returned from Siam with a positive order to attack Perak. The King of Quedah says. "It greatly afflicts me to execute this

order. It is not with my good will that I attack Perak, nor at all my wish to become an Enemy of that Rajah, but only to avert mischief from my Country."

A force was accordingly despatched to Perak by Land under the Bindahara, or General, and a Fleet under the Laksamana, or Admiral. In October 1817, the King of Quedah acquainted the Governor of Pinang, that his forces had subdued half the Country. In June 1818, a confidential agent of the Pinang Government was sent to persuade the Rajah of Perak to comply at once with a demand which he had not the power long to resist, but after a long stay and numerous conferences, he was unable to obtain any satisfactory assurances that he would comply.\* In September 1818, the Quedah forces took complete possession of the Perak Country. A few months afterwards, the King's Son, Rajah Mooda, was raised to the Throne, and the Boonga Mas, the object of contention, was sent to Siam, via Quedah. The old King did not survive many months after having made a powerful, but ineffectual resistance. Such is the history of the subjugation of the Perak State by Siam. It has however been again wrested from the Siamese by the former Conqueror, the Rajah of Salengore, who has established the King, Tajudin, the lawful Sovereign, and he now maintains his possessions unmolested for a time, under the continual apprehension however of a renewal of hostilities from the Rajah of Ligore.

\* A Treaty was made at that time with the Rajahs of Perak and Salengore : Vide Appendix.

Soon after the capture of Perak, a lengthened correspondence which took place on the subject of throwing open the navigation of the Rivers Mirbow and Mooda, and extending the Honorable Company's Territory on the opposite Shore, evinced fully that the King of Quedah was under the greatest apprehensions from the King of Siam, and fearful of incurring the displeasure of that haughty Potentate by making any further cession. Matters continued rather more tranquil than they had been for some time after the Conquest of Perak; but towards the close of 1821, they began to draw to a crisis, which was indeed, in a great measure anticipated by the Government of Pinang, which having received intelligence of hostile preparations on the part of the Siamese, communicated the same to the Rajah of Quedah, with a suitable admonition and precautionary advice. As early as February 1821, the Governor thus wrote to the King. "I hasten to communicate to my friend, that intelligence has reached this place from Siam stating the King of that Country to be engaged in the equipment of about 6,000 Troops destined to march to Kedah. This army, it is said, will embark at Bangkok for Sangora, from whence it is to march overland. It is further stated, that some remissness in the transmission of the Boonga Mas is the reason assigned for this measure; it is however not improbable, that as the Burmahs have declared war with Siam, this movement of the Troops of the latter Power is in view to avail of the situation of my friend's Country and vessels to embark an Expedition

against the Island of Salang. Be this as it may, sincere friendship calls for my immediately communicating the intelligence to my friend, as it reached me from a respectable person very lately from Bangkok."

The King immediately replied to this, that he had heard similar rumours, and learning that the Siamese had come to Setool and Lingow, about 500 in number; he sent a Pangulu secretly to gather all the information he could, and he enclosed his report on the subject. He says "Relative to the Siamese having a jealousy on account of the Company possessing Pinang, it has been so for a long time, and I have often communicated it to former Governors. My friend notices a report of the coming of the Siamese, being occasioned by my not having forwarded as usual the Boonga Mas. If this is the cause assigned, it is only a pretext, because there has been some delay on many former occasions, nor were they angry. The transmission of the Boonga Mas at the present period, has been delayed on account of the Epidemic Sickness." The report alluded to is as follows. "Your Majesty directed your Servant to obtain intelligence relative to the Siamese, and your servant sent a man named Awon, to buy and sell and procure such intelligence on the 13th Rabial-akir. The Chief of the Siamese at Lingow, is Chow Rubut, with 300 men and a few more, who came on the 19th at Setool, the head man is Umboom Nongta, with about 200 men, and on the 19th Rabial-akir, the younger brother of the Rajah of Sangora came there with 100 followers, intending

to equip some Prows formerly built there, for which they have collected the necessary materials. What their intentions are is unknown to any of the people of Setool, whom they have not ill used. It is understood, however, that a Burmah army is coming to attack the Siamese by way of Trong, Lingow and Setool, and the latter say, that all the Burmahs in Siam have been sent into their own Country. They say also that great numbers of Siamese have died of the Epidemic Sickness, and that the Burmahs are taking advantage of this to attack them, in which event, they (the Siamese) will send a Force to Trong, Kedah, and Purlis, and if the Burmahs do not fulfil their intended attack, they wish to go for the purpose of amusing themselves at Pinang. The Prows they have built are in Seonghy Baru. My messenger obtained this from a relation of the Chief of Umboom Nongta."

The disastrous events which followed not many months after, and the easy conquest obtained by the Siamese over the Quedah People, who were quite unprepared and over a Country whose resources had been gradually wasted and extracted for a series of years, are fully detailed already.

From the foregoing History of the connexions subsisting between Siam and Quedah, we cannot fail to come to the conclusion, that the conquest of the latter State by the best contrived plans that treachery and injustice could devise, can only be regarded as an act of the most unjustifiable usurpation and unprovoked hostility, and such

as loudly calls for the interference of a powerful Government like the British. It has lately been observed, in allusion to the present state of Affairs of Continental Europe, that "as the safety of all States depends on the observance of the Laws of Nations, all acts done in avowed and systematical defiance of its principles, gives a right of War to all States against the wrong doers,"\*—and it was remarked by one of the most distinguished statesmen of the present day, (Earl Grey,) "We admit that it is the interest and duty of every member of the commonwealth of Europe, to support the established system and distribution of power among the independent Sovereignities which actually subsist, and to prevent the aggrandizement of any State, especially the most powerful, at the expense of another." The turbulent and restless character of the Siamese, and the haughty tone of arrogance they have long assumed, united to the consideration of the state of alarm and agitation in which the British Settlements have been kept since that power became nearer neighbours than formerly, may lead us to doubt whether the neutrality observed by the British Government, and founded on solid and substantial grounds of expediency, under the critical and peculiar circumstances of the time, will be preserved for any length of time, and it will be matter of consideration, "whether," as observed by the Reviewer, "if we do not prevent the maturing of plans and the approach of dangers which

\* Edinburgh Review, No. 75.

have already unequivocally disclosed themselves, we shall not shortly be called upon to fight in our own defence."

When we advert to the immense quantities of Grain, Cattle, and various other Stores which this ill-fated Country supplied during a long series of years to the Siamese forces, that it was at the same time the Granary of Prince of Wales Island, and many of the surrounding States, we must form a very favorable estimate of its resources. Mr. Light says, and with truth, that little more than the name of the Company would be required in declaring the King of Quedah under our protection, and his sentiments, as well as those of many other competent judges at the time, have been given as to the baneful effects of allowing the Siamese to possess themselves of Quedah. We have already observed that the Quedah Country was captured by treachery, and wrested from its rightful Sovereign by that very power to which it had done homage, and which therefore, according to the Law of Nations, was bound to protect, instead of oppressing it. We should recollect, that promises of assistance were given to the King of Quedah, as a condition of his cession of Prince of Wales Island, and that in all the Correspondence during thirty-five years, almost every Letter concluded with "Pinang and Quedah are one;" we shall be at no loss, therefore, for a just pretext for interference, if deemed consistent with the policy of the superintending and controuling authorities. If a further cause were wanting, the incessant hostilities, between the Burmahs



and Siamese in our immediate vicinity, the consequent interruption of Commerce, and the frequent acts of barbarous Piracy committed by the adherents of the contending parties upon peaceable British Traders, might be assigned with propriety, as a just cause for the interposition of the British Power and Authority at Quedah, as a barrier between them, and thus discourage that incessant warfare which has prevailed between these two Nations for such a length of time.

The policy and advantage of extending the territory of the Honorable Company on the continent opposite Pinang, have been warmly argued by some of the Governors of Prince of Wales Island and the subject was ably discussed, particularly by Lieutenant Governor Farquhar, in his report upon the Island in 1804. He gives his sentiments as follows, "The advantages to be derived from Quedah, are worthy of separate and distinct inquiry, and if this Island is to be made a great naval depot, the following suggestions may eventually be found ultimately connected with the Interests of the British Government. In all its extensive plans and operations, the British Government of Prince of Wales Island should keep in its recollection that the immediate wants of the settlement have considerably increased and are likely to become greater every day, and the Government should then advert to the important circumstance of supplies from Quedah being more within its reach, cheaper to the community and subject to fewer failures than supplies which, by exertions, might be eke-

where acquired. Now as these supplies cannot long be depended upon under the present conflicting authorities of five or six Brothers and an Uncle, all equally oppressive and independent, the Company, in order to command provisions for Pinang adequate to any demand, must adopt one or other of the following alternatives, viz.

“ They must take such a share in the politics of Quedah as to give such a decided preponderance to Tuanko Pangiran (the present King) as will enable him effectually to curb his Brothers and give efficacy to the Laws for the security of the Ryots, or they must obtain the 144 square leagues opposite this Island and pursue such measures for its Government as promise, with the greatest celerity to be the means of peopling and cultivating it. Were my opinion asked in regard to choice of these alternatives, I should certainly adopt that which placed Quedah under our controul and management, but both will best secure the object.

“ As cheapness of provisions is one of the greatest allurements to an increase of population, and as it is from a numerous population alone that the Company can expect the price of labour to be diminished, as well as a permanent and efficient Revenue to defray the great expences of their important and extensive plans, this object may be considered as of the last importance, and aided by peace and quiet, it will soon leave no Jungle either on this Island or on the Company's Dominion on the opposite shore. Taking matters therefore on the great

scale, the acquiring this Territory ought never to be lost sight of. The possession of it, governed under peculiar Laws, reserving the customs and usages of the Malays, excepting those that are arbitrary and oppressive, in regard to the rights of life and property, would soon render it populous and productive of provisions equal to all the wants of the Island, provided the Government prohibit for a time all cultivation that interferes with the produce of provisions. This modified Malay Government is better suited to the people and managed at less expense than any other. Their Laws will have a received sanction. They will with ease and readiness be submitted to, and ought therefore to have the preference if a speedy population be the object in view. The portion of Territory above alluded to, would be bounded to the Northward by the ridge of Gunong Jerai Hills from Tanjong Jaga on the West, across the Lake to the Mountains on the East, and thence by a line East and West to the confines of Tringano. To the South the defined boundaries would be the River Carrian to the confluence of the River Trase and Tamungong—then along the River Tamungong to the Mountains, and thence and East North East line to the confines of Tringano. To the East the boundaries of Tringano, to the West the Sea, including all the Islands lying South of the East and West line from Tanjong Jaga, and those to the Northward of a South West line from the Southern entrance of Carrian River. Neither of these judicious plans for effectually securing

the interests of the British Settlement were ever adopted; but Governor Bannerman in 1818 endeavoured, tho' in vain, to obtain a much less extensive addition than proposed by Lieutenant Governor Farquhar, to our Territory on the opposite shore.

Colonel Bannerman proposed that the Northern Boundary should be extended from the South Bank of the Kwala Mooda, to ten Orlongs beyond the North Bank of the Kwala Mirbow; but no protection being stipulated to the King of Quedah, and his dread of the Siamese, although he assigned another cause for the refusal, no doubt prevented a compliance with the wishes of the Government of Pinang.

It may not be amiss to advert here briefly to the several objects which were expected to be attained by the Government of Pinang, in proposing a Mission to the Siam Court a few years ago, not one of which was gained by the Embassy under Mr. Crawford in 1822. The first Commercial object was to secure a continuance of the unrestricted importation of Supplies of Provisions from Kedah, on which Pinang had so long depended, as well as from other Ports and Places in the vicinity of Pinang, in any manner dependent on Siam. The next objects were to negotiate for a fixed and more moderate rate of duties to be levied in all the States under Siam, and particularly Junk Ceylon, to prohibit any exclusive Monopoly Farms, to permit a free navigation of all the Rivers on the Western side of the Peninsula from their mouths

to their sources, and to allow an uninterrupted intercourse overland, by means of these Rivers, with Patani and the Tin Countries in the interior, with Ligor, Singora, and all the Ports on the Eastern Coast. The next Commercial object was, with a view to encourage the formation at Pinang of an Emporium or Entrepot for the Tin Produce of Junk Ceylon, Patani, and Perak, to obtain some remission of the heavy duty levied on the exportation of that Article from Junk Ceylon, to open a free intercourse with the Tin Mines of Patani, whence large supplies were offered to Colonel Bannerman, and where, there is no doubt, almost any quantity may be derived through the Mirbow, Muda, and Prye Rivers; and lastly, to prevent, through negotiations at Siam, the renewal of the Dutch Monopoly of Tin at Perak. The Letter of the Committee in 1818, shews the advantageous means possessed at Pinang for establishing a most extensive Tin Trade from the Countries of Tavoy to Colong. The average quantity of Tin exported from Pinang in the seven years preceding 1822, was 16,300 Piculs per Annum. A reduction of the supplies from Junk Ceylon, and from Perak, in consequence of the War, as well as the almost total discontinuance of the annual produce of 1,000 Piculs from Kwala Muda, has much reduced the importation of Tin. It was also a part of the plan of the present Governor of Pinang, amongst other important objects contemplated, and too numerous to detail, to turn the views of the Siamese Court to the great advantage

and practicability of conducting an almost direct overland Trade between Pinang and their Territories, along the Gulph of Siam, by a route across the Malayan Peninsula, or more to the Northward across the Isthmus of Kraw, which is said by one Authority to be only 20 leagues broad,\* and it is said by some to be only half a degree broad. Forrest says, that from Pandang Pandang Point on the Southern side of the Trang River, it is only two days journey to Singora, in the Gulph of Siam. Between Ligor, Sangora, and Trang, and the Territories of Quedah, a regular communication has long been maintained by means of Elephants, but the passage which occupies six or eight days might probably be rendered much more easy and expeditious if the Roads were improved.

Amongst the political objects, the permission to form an Establishment at Junk Ceylon was particularly insisted upon, and also to obtain the cession of the Island of Pankour, near the mouth of the Dinding River. Relative to this plan, the Honorable President remarked, "The chance of the Dutch at any time hereafter renewing their Establishment at a place so immediately in the vicinity of this Port as Perak, and the convenient situation of the Island for collecting the Tin of that Country, and for preventing Piratical Fleets seeking shelter in the numerous creeks and rivers in that quarter, have been urged in support of the measure. If this can be obtain-

\* Tuckey's Maritime Geography, Page 226.

ed without any chance of future collision with the Dutch claims, it will certainly not prove the least advantage in favor of Pankour that its occupation, should it ever take place, cannot entail any expense on the Honorable Company."

Not one of the above numerous and important objects was attained; the Ambassador was received with distrust and jealousy, and it would appear, by the accounts which have been published, that nothing more was obtained than a promise not to raise the present duties; and that the arrogance of the Siamese and impediments to a free Trade have rather been increased than diminished by the Mission. In a work lately published in Calcutta, professing to give an authentic account of the Mission,\* it is stated "An engagement has been entered into, not to raise the duties beyond their present amount; but the word of the Siamese is not to be relied upon, and they are only anxious for our Trade, that they may commit extortions upon it in their own way. That way is this; they give a public order for a Free Trade, and a secret one not to deal with the persons so offered a Free Trade, under a penalty of stripes and fines, and it is afterwards mentioned by the same author† that "By the Treaty entered into with the Siamese, the free admission of British Commerce is stipulated for, an engagement entered into that the present duties, amounting generally to 8 per Cent.

\* Phipps' Shipping and Commerce of Bengal, Page 155.

† Ditto Page 157.



shall never be raised, and a pledge given of cordial assistance from the Officers of Government. The great object of our Government was to secure such a Free Trade as is granted to the Chinese, but this could not be brought about, without entering into such political relations with the Siamese, as are at variance with the known principles of moderation acted upon by our Indian Administration," so that we are in fact in the same predicament as before the Mission. There is no doubt, that the Siamese having long found the advantages and profit of admitting British Subjects to Trade at Bangkok, however they may appear to be, and really are averse to our political interference, will always find it their interest to carry on an extensive Commerce with us, without which the Country would soon suffer the greatest inconvenience. They have few or no Manufactures and for ages past, have been dependent upon the English for their supplies of Clothing, Opium, &c. and if there was no demand for their Sugars, their Pepper, Tin, Rice, Salt, and various other Commodities which are carried to the British Settlements, and to Europe, the Country would soon be reduced to poverty. We may be assured therefore, that, however the Siamese may assume a lofty tone and pretended indifference to the British Trade, they are too sensible of its importance to wish any limitation of it, and though it may be possible, that they would rather not see any of our smart Ships in their Ports, from an apprehension that we have designs upon them, and there may be spies

taking an account of their resources and population, still they are aware that the active, industrious, and numerous Chinese Settlers would always carry on an extensive Trade in their Junks to the British Settlements.

Seeing that negotiations are of little or no avail with the Siamese, it may perhaps be a matter of consideration, whether the British Government should longer delay asserting its rights, and evincing to the imperious Power of Siam, that however desirous it has hitherto been to cultivate a good understanding, and promote the interests of Commerce, it cannot admit of any indignities or encroachments, which the interference with an old Ally, the refusal of every reasonable proposal for the amelioration of our Commercial intercourse, the ungracious reception of the Ambassador, and the barbarous treatment of British Subjects, sufficiently indicate a deliberate and determined disposition to impose upon the British Government. A very small force would be adequate for the protection of our Ally, for the Siamese are not altogether ignorant of our power, and would tremble when they saw a determination to support the King of Quedah. The King would no doubt voluntarily relinquish any claim to pecuniary assistance, and his revenues, under an improved system of Administration, with the aid of a British Resident, conversant with the language, manners, and institutions of the Malays, would not only be fully adequate to the support of his independence and dignity, but for defraying the expenses of the

subsidiary Establishment granted him by the British Government.

The advantages of such a connexion are too manifest to be dilated upon. Thousands of poor people would be raised from misery and slavery to comfort, the Island of Pinang would be plentifully supplied with provisions of all sorts for its own consumption, for His Majesty's and the Honorable Company's Ships, and the numerous Vessels touching at the Island, the Traders would be secure in continuing their Adventures to Quedah and the adjacent States, Piracy would cease in a great degree, and the Honorable Company might reap immense advantages from the Tin Mines of Patani, and the Mountains of Quedah, which abound with Tin Ore. A very intelligent Native who came from Banca, and surveyed the Tin Mines up the Kwala Mooda, declared, that the produce might in a few years be rendered fully equal to Banca, and offered to establish a Colony of Miners, but was prevented by the exorbitant demands of the King, who wished to have one half of all the produce. There is no question the Siamese would speedily be reconciled to the British possessing Quedah, and a lucrative overland Commerce might, after a proper understanding, be established to an almost unlimited extent.\* "In the commencement of our political connexion with the Siamese Government," says Mr. Crawford, "a firm tone and vigorous conduct will be indispensibly requisite.

\* Mr. Crawford's report of his Mission to Siam.

The Siamese are surrounded by weak neighbours, whom they have subjugated, and to whom they dictate without resistance. This, and their great ignorance of all foreign nations, has rendered them, although essentially weak and puerile, avaricious, vain and arrogant to such an extreme, as to fancy themselves nothing less than the very first nation on the Globe. These unfounded pretensions mislead them so egregiously, that it is scarcely safe even to attempt to conciliate them, & thus the most moderate policy on the part of other nations, will always be in danger of being construed by them into timidity and apprehension for their own power. From my personal experience of this singular and impracticable character, it is now my firm conviction, that had the circumstances of the time warranted the Pinang Government in promptly repelling even by Military force, the threatened invasion of the Island, the partial invasion of the opposite Coast, and the threatening and arrogant language of the Government of Ligore, that the fears of the Siamese Court would have induced it to have made ample atonement, to have re-traced its steps, to have withdrawn its force from Quedah, and even forborne in future from meddling in the affairs of that State."

Having declared Quedah under our Guardianship, it might be proper, in order to tranquillize the other Malayan States to the Southward, and to give confidence and an impetus to the revival of a daily languishing Commerce, to declare their independence also, and the mere knowledge of the avowed protection of the English, would prevent the

possibility of any foreign invasion. In my judgment, not a Soldier of the Company would be required to defend them. Proper boundaries would be defined for their separate Governments, and Treaties entered into binding them against any encroachments upon their neighbour's Territory or Domain. Commercial alliances might also be formed. These Treaties should be calculated to establish a mutual confidence, founded on a community of interests, and a sense of reciprocal benefits resulting to all parties concerned from such an alliance, as suggested long since by Lieutenant Governor Farquhar. There is no doubt all the different States, from the unequivocal disposition of the Chiefs, and their respect and attachment to the British Government, would readily accede to measures so well calculated to secure their own interests. Possessing then a controuling influence over the several States of Quedah, Patani, Perak, and Salengore, by the Pinang Government on one side, and Singapore holding a commanding interest over Johor, which might be extended to Pahang, Packanja, Tringano, and Callantan, on the other, the whole Malayan Peninsula, comprehended within the circumscribed limits which I have assigned, would be under our influence, without involving the Honorable Company in one farthing of expense; the riches of the Mines would be drawn forth, and the valuable products with which that fertile tract abounds, be made subservient to the purposes of general commerce; a more extensive demand for our Manufactures would be created, and peace and

tranquillity, the object of all good Governments, restored. It would still be advisable to form a small Establishment upon the Island of Pankour, to put an effectual stop to Piracy in the Straits, to collect the Tin from Perak and Salengore, and to afford provisions and assistance to small Native Traders between Sincapore and Pinang, and particularly the numerous Vessels from the East Coast of Sumatra, a branch of Commerce which merits the greatest encouragement. Having established, as has already been done, friendly relations with the numerous States from Diamond Point to Siack on the East Coast of Sumatra, the fertile Countries on either side of the Straits, would then be perpetually pouring into the British Settlements, their precious Stores, like the incessant rolling down of the Waters by the numerous Rivers with which both Coasts are intersected.

I am sensible that objections may be raised to a plan which has the appearance of proposing an extension of Territory, or even our political influence in these regions, as it has been contended by many, that the British Government has already acquired a more extensive Dominion in the East, than is either necessary or useful \* There is a very able Article in the Quarterly Review, which relates more particularly to our Colonies

\* However solicitous the controuling authorities in England and the respective Governments of India have been, to circumscribe the limits of our immense Empire, a variety of circumstances, arising chiefly from the restless and turbulent dispositions of the Native Powers, has tended to enlarge the sphere of our dominion to an unwieldy extent, and the same causes must continue to

in the West Indies, and satisfactorily demonstrates, that under proper management, they are a source of the greatest wealth to the Mother Country. "It has been said of Colonies, that they are a burden to the Country, on the expense of administration and protection. From the ties of intercourse between protecting and dependent States, it must be obvious, that they give rise to the formation of multifarious commodities on the part of the European Country, to pay for the exotic productions necessary for some time to come. Its extension however, has not been effected in the spirit of conquest, but, as ably remarked by the distinguished Nobleman,\* who lately presided over British India, and had the merit of pursuing the wise and comprehensive system and consolidating the advantages secured by the liberal and politic views of Lord Wellesly, "Urged, says he," by a succession of events independent of our controul, we had without plan pushed our occupations of territory to an embarrassing extent. If axioms of theoretic policy ever prompted the narrowing our frontiers, and the concentrating our strength within a more convenient compass, imperious motives opposed themselves to the attempt. Our moderation would not regulate the conduct of the Native Powers on our border. Our relinquishment of rich and tranquil provinces could in their view be ascribed to nought but conscious weakness. Strengthened by those resources which we had abandoned, those chieftains would follow fast at our heels, giving to our retreat the appearance of discomfiture: And the supposition of our debility would be an irresistible temptation for that very warfare the evasion of which could be the sole rational inducement for such a rate of sacrifice. Beyond this, we had plighted protection to the inhabitants of the districts in question as the price of their acquiescence in our rule. Their submission had been honest, confident, and cheerful. They had fulfilled their part of the compact, and it would be base to leave them to new Masters who would, by vindictive

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\* The Marquis of Hastings' discourse at the College of Fort William, July 16th, 1821.



cessarily flowing into it. If the Articles produced, equal the expense of the Colonies, in this view alone, their possession is a source of wealth and enjoyment, and not a burden"—and again, "Colonial Possessions, scattered over all parts of the World, become sure marts from which Commerce can be carried on with any quarter; without them, the intercourse with many places in an imperfectly civilized, or often disturbed state, would be precarious and hazardous. They confer, wherever situated, severity of oppression, grievously punish those helpless victims for their temporary acknowledgement of our sway. Of course, the individuals in whom the management of the Company's Affairs was then vested, were constrained to maintain their footing; nay, not only to maintain it, but often to assume still forwarder positions, when after repelling wanton attacks, they strove to guard against the reiteration of the violence. The latter procedure frequently subjected us to increased causes and facilities of aggression, while it parried one particular hazard. My more immediate Predecessors saw the peculiarity of the public circumstances. They comprehended the perplexities to be the unavoidable result of efforts depending on the instigation of chance, consequently seldom guided by reference to any system. Therefore they judiciously endeavoured to connect and to mould into shape, those materials of Empire which had chiefly been heaped together from accident without unity of design. I have indulged myself in this detail to show how incorrect are the notions so generally entertained of our Country's having achieved Dominion in India through projects of conquest. No, we are not conquerors, we are something far prouder. Those dignified personages to whom I last adverted never prosecuted a measure or harbored a wish for the subjugation of India. They studied to give a form and fashion to the structure of our power, such as by discouraging assault and not by imposing an odious thralldom, might produce a quiet as distinctly beneficial for the Native States as it was desirable for the advantage of our own concerns. I repeat the pre-eminent Authority which we enjoy is not the fruit of ambition."

ed, a local influence, upholding the character and interests of the Country. The Colonial Possessions of this Country, scattered over the whole world, are not to be considered only as sources of inexhaustible wealth and power, but as affording the opportunity and imposing the duty of ameliorating the condition of humanity. Having abolished the Slave Trade, and standing as yet single in the discontinuance of it, Great Britain has made regions, which heretofore served as the Arena where European Nations carried on their contests, the scene for the civilization of a long despised, but interesting portion of Mankind."

In extending our protecting influence to Quedah, and declaring the other Malayan States under our guardianship against foreign invasion,\* we acquire a vast increase of Colonial Power without any outlay or hazard, and we rescue from oppression, a countless multitude of human

\* In reference to the protecting and subsidiary system, so successfully pursued by Lord Wellesly, on the continent of India, an intelligent anonymous author makes the following just and pertinent remarks; "The peace of India, so essential  
" to the prosperity of the Company's dominions, it was impossible to preserve,  
" whilst such jarring nations possessed the unbridled means of continually disturbing it. It could only be established on solid foundations, when those  
" nations were interdicted by a higher power from prosecuting their sanguinary conflicts. As far as such a system of peace and of subsidiary protection had  
" been partially tried in the Company's territories, and those of its allies placed  
" under its protection, it has been found to answer with the happiest effect;  
" and why the extension of a principle so fraught with blessing to mankind,  
" should fail by being further pursued to the utmost of our power, is difficult to  
" conceive. To the Natives of India at large it can never be repugnant,  
" however much it may restrain the ambition, or fetter the turbulence of par-

beings who will no doubt become attached and faithful dependants; we protect them in the quiet pursuits of Commerce, and give life and energy to their exertions. We shall acquire for our Country the valuable products of these Countries, without those obnoxious impositions under which we formerly derived supplies from the West Indies. "As it seems generally allowed," says Lieutenant Governor Farquhar, who formerly presided at this Island, "that a Trade between a manufacturing nation, and another having few manufactures, and rich in native productions, is advantageous to the former, and as Western India bears that relation to the Eastern Archipelago, a Trade with them, must be advantageous to us. The riches of Sumatra and Bornec certainly equal either Brazil, or South America, and possess the advantage that they

"sicular chieftains. If the independent and unlimited power of chieftains to  
 "whom the company has been opposed, has been marked in its exercise by  
 "cruelty, revenge and severe oppression (which none can deny, any restrictions  
 "calculated to repress those excesses, must have been acceptable to those who  
 "were the victims of them. And however much the hatred of the oppressor  
 "may be excited against him who restrains his tyranny, the gratitude of the  
 "relieved must proportionably attend on those who have lightened their suf-  
 "ferings. Any apprehension of danger arising from hatred thus excited, must  
 "be outweighed by the security derived from the general good will towards us,  
 "produced in the minds of all those who feel the improvement of their con-  
 "dition, the enlargement of their rights, and the enjoyment of a more dura-  
 "ble peace, to have originated in the salutary exertions of British Power and  
 "influence. The system of Lord Wellesly is the system by which India  
 "has been saved. It is the system alone by which it can be preserved to  
 "future ages. It is a system which holds up security to the Company, hap-  
 "piness to India, and wealth to the parent state. It rests on humanity, poised

may be acquired by a Sale of our manufactures without the disadvantage of capital, or precarious speculation, or expenditure of the human species which American mines require." But the riches of Sumatra and Borneo are not much superior to those of the Malayan Peninsula, the mountains of which are one continued bed of Tin Ore; the finest Gold is procured from Pahang; Pepper, Rice, Sugar, Rattans, Ivory &c. in abundance. In considering the policy of declaring the independence of the States on the Malayan Peninsula, South of the Island of Junk Ceylon, we should look to the possibility in the event of our delaying to do so, of the re-establishment of foreign influence at Tringano, Callantan, or any of the Ports on the Eastern Side. The French, the Americans, or the Dutch may possibly anticipate us. It must be remembered too, that the Dutch claim, and now exercise Sovereignty over the ex-

" by justice, and supported by power. Subvert it:—the foundation shakes,  
" and the edifice is gone! Let the erroneous notions spread, that concession  
" is to strengthen our Dominion in the East: let the fruit of our victories, and the  
" security they have given to our possessions be relinquished: let the principle  
" of moderation which, on applicable occasions, is so wise a rule of action,  
" be preached in censure of the energies by which our Indian Empire has been  
" saved: let the trite adage, "*in medio tutissimam ibis*," be incautiously ap-  
" plied in these unexampled times, as a corrective to a system which requires  
" but a steady support, and the test of experience to shew its excellence; let  
" the shafts of detraction and persecution be levelled against its illustrious  
" author; let the press and the senate teem with invective against his mea-  
" sures; let ignorance declaim and credulity listen, and the work of ruin to  
" the British interests in India is commenced."

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\* A vindication of the justice and policy of the late Wars in India.

tensive Islands of Java, Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas, Banca, a great part of Sumatra, and in fact, appear to be aiming at the entire possession of the Eastern Archipelago. The British Government at present possess only two small Islets, and an almost useless post on Sumatra.

If the Malayan Peninsula too, shall fall a prey to the ambitious aggrandizement of the Dutch, or even the Siamese, the British Government will scarcely have a foot in this quarter on which to stand. Timely precautions are assuredly advisable and necessary; a little longer delay in asserting our rights and putting a stop to farther encroachments, may be attended with the most baneful consequences to British Interests, and be hereafter only an unavailing source of regret. We should not overlook that the Dutch have almost excluded the admission of our manufactures exported from the British Settlements in this quarter, into Java or any of the places under their Government, for the duty of 24 per cent. assuredly amounts to little short of a prohibition. If the Dutch are permitted to proceed as they have lately done, they will have the sole and entire command of the Eastern Trade, which heretofore was enjoyed, in a great degree, by the Merchants of Pinang and Western India, which materially benefited the general commerce of British India, and which added considerably to the Revenues of the Company and the State.

I shall now proceed to give a brief description of the Peninsula of Malacca, and particularly of the Tin Coun-

tries on the Western side, from the Island of Junk Ceylon inclusive to Malacca, which may serve to convey a correct idea of the value and importance of that neglected portion of the East; to shew that we possess the means with in our reach of obviating the inconveniences and repairing the losses occasioned by the transfer of Banca to the Dutch, and that we have inexhaustible mines of Tin at our very door, the riches of which a little exertion only is wanting to draw forth.



**PART SECOND.**





PART SECOND.

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*DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH*

OF THE

TIN COUNTRIES

ON THE

WESTERN COAST

OF THE

*Peninsula of Malacca,*

FROM

*The Island of Junk Ceylon to the River Lingt near Malacca,*

AND THE

RIVERS ON THAT COAST;

INTENDED TO EXHIBIT THE BOUNDARIES OF THE SE-  
VERAL STATES, THEIR NATURAL PRODUCTIONS, AS OB-  
JECTS OF COMMERCE, &c.

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## PART SECOND.

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### *DESCRIPTION*

OF THE

## TIN COUNTRIES.

&c.

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**T**HE Peninsula of Malacca, properly so called, extends from Point Romania, the South Eastern extremity, in latitude  $1^{\circ} 22\frac{1}{2}$  North, to opposite the Northernmost point of Junk Ceylon, in Lat.  $8^{\circ} 27'$ , according to some Authorities, and  $8^{\circ} 09'$  North, by Horsburgh, which Island forms the Northern extreme of the Eastern side of the Straits of Malacca. Here the Peninsula unites with the Isthmus of Kraw. The Siamese possessions, prior to the late capture of Quedah, extended to the River Traang, in Latitude  $7^{\circ} 20'$  North. The principal subdivisions of the Malayan States are Quedah, Perak, Salengore, Malacca, Rumbow, Johor, including Pahang, and Pakanja, Tringano, Callantan, and Patani, \* “ This Peninsula,” says Captain Francis Light, the founder of Prince of Wales Island, “ is at present in-

habited by distinct races of people. The Siamese possess the northern part of Latitude  $7^{\circ}$  extending from the East to the West side. The Malays possess the whole of the Sea Coast on both sides from that Latitude to Point Romania, being mixed in some places with the Bugis from Celebes, who have still a small Settlement at Salengore. The inland parts to the Northward are inhabited by the Patani people, who appear to be a mixture of Siamese and Malays, and occupy independent Dusuns or Villages. Among the Forests, and on the Mountains, are a race of Caffrees in every respect resembling those of Africa, excepting in stature, which does not exceed four feet, eight inches. The Menangkabau people of the Peninsula are so named from an inland Country in Pulo Percha, (Sumatra,) a distinction is made between them and the Malays of Johor; but none is perceptible." Such were the geographical limits of the Siamese Empire on the Peninsula in 1785, according to the opinion of one, than whom, before or since, there has perhaps, been none more competent to form a correct judgement. It has been adopted by Marsden, and subsequently by others. It has since continued to be the prevailing opinion at the British Settlement of Pinang, among those best acquainted with the situation and history of the different states and who have bestowed any attention upon the subject.

The Ambassador who visited the Court of Siam in 1822, has however considerably extended the limits of the Siamese influence on the Malayan Peninsula; for in his of-

ficial report it is stated, " The Kingdom of Siam, though reduced in its geographical limits within the last half century by the encroachments of the Burmahs, is probably at present of more solid strength and resources than at any former period of its history. The Siamese Territory extends to the South, as far as  $7^{\circ}$  North Latitude, and the Malayan Tributaries of Siam as far as  $3^{\circ}$  North." The River of Salengore is in Latitude  $3^{\circ} 20'$  North; the Northernmost extremity of that Kingdom in  $3^{\circ} 36'$  and its Southern Boundary in  $2^{\circ} 20'$  North. It is difficult, therefore, to ascertain upon what grounds Mr. Crawford has assigned a part of the King of Salengore's Dominions as Tributary to Siam; for there is no record of a Siamese Soldier ever having set foot upon Salengore ground, or of any, the most indirect submission of that State to Siam, nor does it appear that any demand has been made by the latter power for such an acknowledgement. The King of Salengore has always claimed and now possesses the Territory to the Northward of the Dindings, which are in Latitude  $4^{\circ} 16'$  North, and is at present in possession of the whole Perak Territory, as far as the River Krian in Latitude  $5^{\circ}$  North, which is the Southern Boundary of the Honorable East India Company's possessions on the Main, dependent upon Prince of Wales Island. On the Eastern side, Pahang is in Latitude  $3^{\circ} 45'$ , which is at present a dependency of Johor, and Pakanja, in Latitude  $4^{\circ} 50'$  North, under the same authority, and by no means tributary to Siam.

It is not very unreasonable then to infer, that Mr. Crawford has assigned to the Siamese such extended possession, upon equally unsubstantial grounds as those from which he concluded, that because the Emperor of Siam sent a Mission to the Portuguese, congratulating them upon the conquest of Malacca, which he had made many ineffectual attempts to subdue, that State was therefore Tributary to Siam. "Amongst the Princes," says he, "who thus sent Missions to Albuquerque, the King of Siam, from his power and vicinity deserves particular notice. He thanked Albuquerque for his chastisement of a rebellious subject, a fact from which we learn, that Malacca, like the rest of the Malayan Peninsula was considered Tributary to Siam." It does not appear, however, by any historical evidence, that Malacca ever was Tributary to Siam, in the smallest degree, and history furnishes us with the details of the numerous successful defeats of all attempts of the Siamese upon that once powerful Kingdom.

There have been many conjectures regarding the aboriginal Inhabitants of the Peninsula, and the origin of the Malays. Whether the Siamese were the original possessors, or the Negroes called Semang or the present savage race called Orang Bukit, which are still to be found in the interior of Perak, or the degenerate race called Orang Laut, which now rove about the Islands in the Straits, must remain a matter of conjecture.

\* On this singular race an Account will be found in the Appendix, also a few remarks upon the aboriginal Inhabitants of the Peninsula.



The Mountains of the Peninsula of Malacca, tho' hitherto unexplored by Europeans, are known to abound with Tin Ore, of which an unlimited quantity might be obtained, under proper management and a more settled state of things. Hamilton says, "The Country of Perak produces more Tin than any in India," and Mr. Crawford in his late report upon Siam observes, "Tin in Siam is diffused over more extensive geographical limits than in any other part of the world, and for productiveness, the Mines of Junk Ceylon may be considered next in rank to those of Banca, if they be not indeed in this respect equal to them. Neither however the Mines of that metal, nor those of Copper, Lead or Gold, have in Siam experienced the benefit of the industry and enterprise of the Chinese, and the produce therefore is comparatively of small importance. The Tin and Gold Mines are wrought by the Siamese, those of Copper and Lead by some of the Mountain Tribes who deliver them as Tribute. The quantity of Tin which finds its way to the capital, and is from thence exported, amounts to 8000 Piculs or about 500 Tons."

In another place he states\* "The Tin of the Eastern Islands has however, a much wider range of distribution, than that of any other Country, being found in considerable quantity from the 98° to the 107° of East Longitude and from 8° North to 3° South Latitude." Tin has been found, however in considerable quantities much further

\* Crawford's Archipelago vol. 3 page 450.

North viz. in the interior of Tavoy in Latitude  $12^{\circ} 40'$  North, the Mines being situated at a place called Sakana about four days journey from the City of Tavoy.

The principal places where Tin is at present procured, on the Western side of the Malayan Peninsula, are the Island of Salang or Junk Ceylon, Pungah, Kwala Mooda from Patani; Trong near the Dindings in the Perak Territory, Perak, Salengore, Colong, Lukut, in the Salengore Territory and Lingi, a dependency of Malacca, near Cape Rachado. The Ore at all these places and several others is very abundant, but the disturbed State of these Countries of late, has reduced the supplies to a mere trifle. At Prince of Wales Island also, Tin has been found; but the Ore is difficult of access; there is a deficiency of Water, which is absolutely necessary and the price of labour is too high on the Island to admit of the Mines being worked to advantage. A few Slabs were cast many years ago, and the Ore yielded  $53\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. which is inferior to Junk Ceylon by  $11\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. and Perak and Salengore from 9 to 10 per Cent.

There are two modes practised by the Malays and Siamese, as described by Mr. Light, of working the Mines, the one, every person is at liberty to dig for Tin, and sell it to the best advantage, paying the King a duty; the other, the King is the sole purchaser, he appoints a smelter of the Ore, and no other person is allowed to smelt. The Ore is brought to the smelting house, where they receive tickets to the Agent or Paymaster, who should pay them

the established price in money, but as those Officers have no Salary, they oblige the Miners to take Goods at an advanced price. Whether from the scarcity of Tin or what other cause I am uninformed, the metal has risen very materially in the markets of Europe and India of late. The average Selling or Export price at Pinang, till within the last 12 months, has been 18 Dollars per Picul; in China 20 Dollars per Picul, and in Calcutta it has fluctuated from the years 1816 to 1822 from 28 to 31 Rupees per Maund. In 1818 it was as low as 24 Rupees per Maund. During the last eight years therefore, the average may be taken at 29 Rupees in Calcutta. At present it is from 36 to 38 Rupees per Maund in Calcutta, 28 to 30 Dollars per Picul in China, 110s. per Cwt. in London, and the price at Pinang has risen to 22 and 23 Dollars per Picul. The prices at the places where it is has been procured, have usually been as follows, for several years: At Junk Ceylon and Pungah 50 Dollars per Bhar of 500 lbs. avoirdupois; at Kwala Mooda, from Patani 46 Dollars per Bhar of 428 lbs. at Perak 45 to 46 Dollars per Bhar of 428 lbs. and at Salengore 44 and 45 Dollars per Bhar of 400 lbs. The Salengore Tin is generally exported in small pieces of one Catty weight, very pure and white. It is what is termed new Tin, and usually sells for  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  Dollar per Picul less in the markets of China, than the Banca or Junk Ceylon. The Perak Tin is of a similar quality when refined, but generally melted into large Slabs of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a Picul, in which are frequently sand, and large

pieces of heavy iron stone. The loss on remelting Salengore Tin seldom exceeds  $\frac{3}{4}$  per Cent. on the Perak 3 and 4 per Cent. The Junk Ceylon Tin does not require to be resmelted, being cast into uniform Slabs. The Chinese at Pinang smelt the Perak and Salengore Tin, and cast it into moulds resembling the Junk Ceylon, and by putting a slight sprinkling of Sulphur into the liquid, the Tin assumes a dark hue like the Banca or Junk Ceylon, called Timah Tuah or Old Tin and sold as such.

Besides the valuable commodity above described with which the Peninsula abounds, there is a very considerable Trade at the different Settlements in Bees Wax, Bird's Nests, Cutch, Dammar, Fish Maws, Rice, Rattans, Shark's Fins, Betelnut, Canes, Dragon's Blood, Elephant's Teeth, Gold Dust, Sago, Agila Wood, Sapan Wood and Hides and Skins of various descriptions, which form the principal Exports.

The imports consist of a variety of Europe, India and China Manufactures, viz. Opium, China Ware, Brass Utensils, White, Blue and Brown Cloths from Madras and Bengal, Chintzes and Handkerchiefs, Coarse Cuttlery, Cotton, Gunpowder, Glass-Ware, Gold Thread, Iron of Sorts, Steel, Lead, Looking Glasses, Swivels, Woollens, Tobacco, Salt, Naukeens, Fireworks, Silk and Silk Piece Goods, Tea and numerous other articles.

The general Commerce carried on between the States on the Malayan Peninsula and the British Settlements, has already been sufficiently described. I shall not there-

fore enter into any superfluous detail on this head. As the Western side of the Peninsula particularly abounds with Tin, and the principal supplies of that valuable metal have, for many years, been derived from thence; as the extension of that Trade is a chief object of the present inquiry, it shall be my aim to shew the facilities afforded, by the numerous Rivers and Streams with which the Western Coast abounds, for conveying the Tin and other valuable products from all parts of the interior. The names of many of these Rivers are unknown to many persons who have long been resident at the British Settlements, at no great distance from them. I shall also endeavour to give some account of the Towns, Villages and distances in the interior, the population, Boundaries of the States, and some slight sketches of the history of the Chiefs, from Junk Ceylon to Malacca, subjects which have been almost untouched by other pens.

On the Western Coast of the Malayan Peninsula, from the Latitude of 8°, 30' North, or opposite the Northern point of the Island of Junk Ceylon, and the Boundary between Salengore and Malacca, or the Latitude of Sungai Lingi Besar, 2° 20' North there are eighty four Rivers, some of them of very considerable magnitude, which empty themselves into the Straits of Malacca. The entrance of most of these Rivers, however, is choaked up with Sands or Mud Bars which render it difficult for vessels of large burthen to enter.

I shall now proceed to enumerate the Rivers within the limits beforementioned, specifying to what State they belong, for the purpose of more ready reference, and afterwards give an account of each, the villages, population &c. Beginning from the Northward, the first is Sungei or Kwala (River,)

Dependencies of Salang under the Siamese Govt.	Pungah	Territory of Quedah.	Purlis
	Pahlau		Krong Tangah
	Tadin Dei		Sanglang
	Nahkrat		Jerloon
	Coreh or Cassei		Griang
	Lontar		Kedda
	Tekibong		Tabangow
	Polian		Salah
	Traang		Badak
	Banksa		Ruga
Territory of Quedah.	Lingow	Territory of Quedah.	Ian
	Setool		Mirbow
	Koobong Boya		Muda
	Batu Ampar		Bukkah
	Merakit		Prye
	Che Bilang		Jooroo
	Masuk Membang Segara		Junjong
	Temblang		Batu Kawan
	Merpa		Tongar
	Beluru		Changkat Kalidang
Territory of Quedah.	Puju	Hon. Company's Territory.	Krian

## Perak Territory; The Dinding claimed by Salengore.

Selinsing  
 Sepitang  
 Sangah Kechil  
 Sangah Besar  
 Laroot  
 Trong  
 Jarong Mas  
 Bruas  
 Korau  
 Galam  
 Passuyiu  
 Dinding  
 Pendut  
 Lurian  
 Likir  
 Teram  
 Lumbong  
 Agas  
 Perak  
 Ular  
 Betul  
 Rangas

## Salengore Territory.

Burnam  
 Passir Panjang  
 Se gulong gulong  
 Tinghi  
 Salengore  
 Api Api  
 Bulu  
 Jeram  
 Kupar  
 Pulau  
 Colong  
 Langat  
 Tomponi  
 Jegra  
 Passir  
 Gubbang  
 Seppang  
 Nipah  
 Lukut  
 Lingi Kechil

Commencing from the Northward, the Island of Junk  
 Ceylon first claims our attention.

## SALANG OR JUNK CEYLON.

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This Island has been the scene of constant warfare between the Burmahs and Siamese for many years. In 1810-11, the Burmahs completely subdued the Country and carried away a great number of the inhabitants. The remainder fled and established the present flourishing Settlement of Pungah, up a River of that name, nearly opposite the Northern point of Pulo Panjang. The population on Junk Ceylon at present, does not exceed a thousand, under a Pia or Governor, named Long Bamborong. It is a dependency of Pungah. A few Chinese have lately commenced working the Mines; but the inhabitants are kept in a constant state of apprehension from an attack by the Burmahs. The Commander in Chief of the Burman Army pompously announced his victory to the Governor of Pinang. He thus styles himself, "Mai Maha Seha Sooyah, Commander in Chief of Rangoon, Martaban, Yei, Tavoy, Mergui, Merib," and says "I lately sent an Armament consisting of 20,000 Men against the Siamese, who have conquered the Countries of Salang, (i. e. Junk Ceylon,) Terrotory, Tacoorpa, Tataway, Ban Taku, Ban Takim, Kayui and Pulei. I have caused the Rajah of Salang to be conveyed to Ava, and have named it from henceforth Salawara, and I have stationed 3000 men to defend it."



The Wife of Pia Pomone, the former Siamese Governor of the Island, was in the habit of relating to her European visitors, with particular satisfaction, a stratagem for intimidating the Burmahs on one occasion when they had effected a landing and attempted a night attack. A small Fort had been constructed, with a door in front and one in the rear. Having but few Muskets, the old Lady caused the leaves of Cocoanuts to be stripped and cut to the length of a Musket, and made all her attendants throw each one across his shoulder. They then paraded round and round the Fort, entering at one door and going out at the other, thus having the appearance of a large assemblage of Troops entering the Fort, as if they had come from a distance. The Burmahs, who were on the look out, seeing so many men parading about, became alarmed, and instantly took to their Vessels, and were heard of no more for a time. In 1780, during the administration of Mr. Hastings, a plan was formed by the Merchants of Calcutta, for forming a Settlement at this Island; the subscriptions for that purpose were made, and the measure received the sanction of Government, but before the necessary preparations could be completed, a War with France was certain, and the Government not being able to grant any supplies, and the Merchants unwilling to trust their property on the eve of a War, the plan was abandoned for the time. "At the conclusion of the War" says Mr. Light, "Mr. Hastings endeavoured to procure some place to the Eastward, and employed

Captain Forrest to enter into a Treaty with any of the Malay States." Captain Forrest was sent to make a Settlement at Rhio in 1784, by the King's invitation, but learning at the Dindings that the King of Rhio had been killed in an attack upon Malacca, he returned and touched at Junk Ceylon, of which Island he gives a short account.\*

The name Jan Sylan, Capt. Forrest conjectures to be a corruption of Oojong Sylang, Point or Promontory of Sylan. The Island was then under the authority of a Viceroy from Siam, and the population about 12,000 people. There were many Elephants brought from Mergui, Bullocks and Buffaloes, wild Hogs and Deer, a few tame Goats, &c. There used to be a great Trade formerly in Opium, but the use of that Drug had been prohibited, and heavy restrictions laid on the exportation of Tin. The quantity of Tin exported was about five hundred Tons annually. The people were discontented, and wished to throw off their allegiance to Siam.

Shortly after the occupation of Pinang, there was a considerable Trade in Tin and other Articles and Vessels were constantly passing to and from Junk Ceylon. Mr. Scott and other Merchants obtained about 2,500 Bahars of Tin annually, and I have been informed by the Commander of the Vessel, who is still a resident at Pinang, that a voyage was usually made in a month or six weeks, and the profits from the Cargo of Tin and other Mer-

\* Forrest's Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago, Pages 29, 36.

chandize, seldom fell short of 5000 Drs. each Trip. He also asserts that Copper and Iron is abundant on the Island, but the Mines are not worked. Captain Light, the first Superintendant of Pinang submitted a Memoir upon this Island, to the Governor General of Bengal, in June 1787, which contains a minute and particular description of the Island.\*

Mr. James Scott submitted in 1785 an offer from the Native Governor of the Island named Pia Pomone, to transfer the Island to the British Government upon very advantageous terms. Capt. Light took possession of Pinang in the following year and Capt. Scott assured the Government that the Revenues of Salang would defray the expenses of both Settlements. "In preferring Pulo Pinang," says Mr. Scott, "you acquire the best and most convenient Marine Port which the Malay Coast affords, whether you consider it as a retreat for a War Fleet, or a Port of Economical Commerce. In possessing Salang you enter on possession into the receipt of a certain and rapidly encreasing Commerce on the premises pointed out." The conditions on which the Governor of Salang offered to transfer the Island are fully detailed in Mr. Scott's letter addressed to the Governor General, dated 28th October 1785.† The late General Kyd, who made a report of Pinang and Junk Ceylon, by order of the Supreme Government in 1787, strongly recommended the occupation of the latter Island by the British, and in 1788 again

\* Vide Appendix.

† Vide Ditto.

brought the subject to the notice of the Board, in submitting a specimen of the Tin Ore of the Island.†

The policy of the British Government possessing this most valuable Island was fully discussed by the Governor of Pinang, \* and the advantages to be derived from it with the system to be pursued, fully pointed out. The Honorable Mr. Clugley, a Member of the Board, thus gives his sentiments upon the subject. “The occupation of Pankour, and even the most successful prosecution of any arrangements for augmenting the Trade in Tin from Perak and Salengore, are in my judgement of far minor importance to the contemplated object of our late Governor, of extending our influence towards the possession of the Island of Junk Ceylon. This material object I am happy to see is within the scope of the Honorable the President’s arrangements and wishes, and noticed in his Minute in terms satisfactory at once with respect to the importance of this place, and conclusive of his own warm interest for the benefit of this Establishment. I sincerely wish, that he may be the means of effecting this great object during the period of his Government;—by such a possession, the produce of Tin from an extensive Colony will be a source of real advantage to the India Company, and while it must benefit individual industry, will compensate in some degree for the loss of Banca, as all accounts concur in representing the Island of Junk Ceylon as possessing capabilities of rivalling Banca in its produce, if not in

† Vide Appendix.

\* Governor Phillimore’s Minute 26th October. 1810.

the quality of its Tin. It is needless therefore to urge farther the advantage of such an Island being possessed by a Government which would draw forth its resources and make them available to the great purposes of Commercial Enterprise."

The negotiations which followed with the Government of Siam having been unsuccessful, the Island is still in possession of a Power which does not appear disposed to draw forth its resources, and the dread of an attack from the Burmans, prevents the Inhabitants of the adjoining Coast from settling upon the Island. In the event of a rupture with the Siamese or Burmahs, it may be well to bear in recollection the valuable Island of Junk Ceylon, and if that could be added, either by conquest or fair negotiation, to the possessions of the Hon'ble Company, their Revenues would be materially increased, and the interests of the nation generally promoted. Tin has never been known at a higher price than at present in China, in Bengal, and at Pinang, and as there has been a very great decrease in the quantity of late years, imported into the latter place, it is worthy of consideration how it may be increased. That Junk Ceylon possesses every advantage that can be desired, as a productive country with a healthy climate, for a British Settlement, has been fully established by the concurring testimony of all persons who have visited the place, or considered the subject.

## PUNGAH.

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This River unites with the Pahlau, and is nearly opposite the mouth of the principal River on Junk Ceylon. It's situation is thus laid down in a Journal of a Voyage in March 1822. "About  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 P. M. weathered Easternmost Point of Pulo Panjang, continued course four miles, and anchored at 7 P. M. in three fathoms black Mud. The Pungah River bears N. W by W. distance a league." There is a bar at the mouth of, and several Shoals in the River. The depth of Water in many places, is not more than one and one and a half fathom, consequently not navigable for large vessels, and the River narrows considerably after ascending a few miles. Junks tide it up to the Town, in one and a half or two days from the entrance. From the source of this River, the distance overland is said to be only two day's journey to the River Bandon, which falls into the Gulph of Siam. Mr. Crawford remarks\* "I may advert to the incalculable advantages which would result to general Commerce from the existence of an easy and a safe communication by water between the Gulphs of Bengal and Siam. The result of the enquiries which I made on the subject, is, that such a communication would be most easily effected,

Mr. Crawford's report of his Mission to Siam.

and would be most useful, in about the Latitude of  $8^{\circ}$  North. Between the head of the River of Bandon, which, as already mentioned, admits vessels drawing ten or fifteen feet water, and the head of the River Ponga, which itself falls into the Western Sea behind Junk Ceylon, and the numerous small Islands in this direction, where there is shelter from the Monsoons; the distance is said to be but two day's ordinary journey. Were such a communication practicable, Siam, Cochin China, China itself, and the Philippine Islands, would be brought nearer to us by a distance of equal to  $16^{\circ}$  of Latitude, while the precarious and tedious navigation of the Straits of Malacca, would be altogether avoided." I fear we should find it a difficult undertaking, making a Canal to the distance of even two days journey in such a quarter, and as the Pungah River is choaked up with Sand Banks, and only navigable for vessels of the smallest size, the passage could never be rendered available to our larger Ships, or obviate the necessity of passing through the Straits of Malacca to China. If such a scheme were practicable however, and a Settlement formed at Junk Ceylon, it would certainly become the Emporium of the East, and rival the most flourishing of our Establishments. Pungah is a recent Settlement, formed by a part of the Inhabitants of Junk Ceylon, who fled in January 1810, when the Burmans invaded and took possession of that Island. The Chief is styled Pia Salang, or Governor of Junk Ceylon and its Dependencies, and he has a Deputy Pia or Governor



under his authority at Junk Ceylon. He is an Officer of the King of Siam, of low origin, and formerly resided at a place called Natoi, to the Northward, eleven years. The former Governor of Salang was dismissed, and the present one is liable to be discharged at the will of the Despot. The Houses of the Inhabitants are built of Artaps and Nebongs in the Malayan Style. There is not much cultivation at this place, except Paddy, which is exported in small quantities. There are few Bullocks or Goats, but Buffaloes are very numerous, and Fowls and Ducks abundant. The price of Poultry about 5 Dollars per 100. The Chief and Inhabitants are not inhospitable.

POPULATION.—The Population consists of about four thousand Malays and Siamese, a thousand Chinese, two hundred and fifty Christians, and twenty or thirty Chuliahhs and descendants of Malabar people.

The principal Article of Commerce here is Tin, of which about 500 Bahars or 1000 Piculs, are now annually obtained, but it might be increased to any extent, and has been very much on the increase during the last few months. It is procured in great abundance, and without much labour, at the distance of one days' journey from the Town. Last year, a considerable quantity was sent overland to the capital, Bangkok, but the greater part now finds it's way into Pinang. There are two or three Factors or Confidential Ministers of the Emperor who reside at Pungah, and superintend the Tin Trade; collect the duties &c. for the King, and one of them ge-



nerally makes a voyage to Prince of Wales Island every three months, usually taking it by turns. The other articles of Commerce are Beech de Mer, Tortoise Shell, Elephant's Teeth, Bird Nests, and Paddy. It is said also, that there is Teak Wood in the Forests. There are many small Junks and Prows belonging to the place, which are constantly passing to and from Pinang, and there are about 10 or 12 Junks annually built there, besides many Boats, the Timber being very excellent, abundant and cheap. The Imports from Pinang consist of Long Cloths, Muslins, Chintzes, Gurrahs, and other Bengal Piece Goods, Taffatas, Madras Blue Cloth and Chintzes, expressly manufactured for the Siamese, Rugs, Curwabs, Scarlet Broad Cloth, Glass Ware, Muskets, Gunpowder, Salt Petre, and various other articles.

The Duties and Port Charges are very exorbitant. Upon a square rigged vessel of fifty Tons, which sold to the value of Spanish Dollars 2600, and purchased Tin in return to the value of Spanish Dollars 2000, the Charges amounted to Spanish Dollars 407, in Presents and Duties; viz.

Presents to Chief, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Officers, value 100 Dollars, Brokerage  $\frac{1}{4}$  per Cent.

Native Writer 18, Cutting and Marking Bales 7, Pilot 12, Use of Scales at Custom House 8, Port Clearance 2, Peon 1, Pilot 5, Import Duties 6 per Cent. usually 8 per Cent. Export Duty on Tin, valued at 50 Dollars per Bahar  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent.

## PAHLAU.

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This is a large branch of the Pungah River. There is a small Village containing about 100 Inhabitants, who collect Tin.

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## TADIN DEI.

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Is a large River, but there are no Inhabitants on its banks.

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## NAHKRAT.

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Also a wide River, but numerous Shoals and Sands. Here there are no Inhabitants.

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## COREH OR CASSEL.

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This is a considerable River, about 20 miles to the Northward of Traang. There are about 50 Inhabitants, subjects of the Rajah of Ligore.

## LONTAR.

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A small River, frequented by parties of the Orang Laut occasionally.

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## TELIBONG.

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This is a very narrow River, opposite the Island of the same name. It was formerly much frequented by the Orang Laut, who used to erect temporary Dwellings on its banks. There is a great abundance of Fish and Oysters procurable in this quarter. There was formerly a large flourishing Settlement on Pulo Telibong, (which lays to the S. W. of Traang River, and is three miles in extent), under Datu Pangawa, about the time Junk Ceylon was taken by the Burmahs in 1810. Here Beech de Mer and Bird Nests were collected. There are at present no inhabitants, but plenty of Deer, Buffaloes, &c.

## TRAANG.

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This River forms the Northern Boundary of the Que-dah Kingdom, but has been possessed by the Siamese for these last fifteen years. It is in Latitude  $7^{\circ} 20'$  North. There is a Bar at the entrance, and numerous Shoals extending out many miles from its mouth, with dangerous Rocks, visible only at low water. There is a safe but narrow Channel for Ships. The River is shallow inside; but vessels of any size may navigate during the Springs. There are three Streams; the centre or main branch called Traang or Kotain, the right Polian, and the left Bank-sa. The first Village near the entrance is called Kwala Batu or Batu Lintang, with 30 Houses and 150 Inhabitants. There are other Villages called Pontanni, Pamuang, and higher up Tipping Tinghi. From Pontanni, to Ligor, the Country is said to be studded with small Villages, but the journey across, which is about five days in the dry Season, is rendered very difficult by the numerous Streams and Marshes. In the rainy Season, it is scarcely possible to go across, and the journey occupies at least twenty days. From the Village of Traang, which contains about 400 Inhabitants, the distance to Kotain or Pontanni by the River, is two days. This is a large Village, consisting of about 150 Houses. From Kotain in a North Easterly direction, and distant about a day's journey

by land, is Lumpour, which is about the size of Kotain. The Natives say there are ninety nine branches or subsidiary Streams which fall into this River. In 1802, the Rajah of Ligore requested the Pinang Government to recommend some of the Native vessels from the Coast to proceed to Traang and load 50 Elephants, promising good treatment to the Chuliahs. Many vessels used to frequent this place in former years.

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## LINGOW.

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Opposite the mouth of this River, which falls into the Sea, by two large branches, is a small Island called Pulo Sidi. There are several small Villages up this River and the Inhabitants cultivate Paddy.

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## SETOOL.

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Which empties itself by two mouths, the Southernmost Channel being called Sungei Masuk Membang Segara. There is an Island formed by these two branches, called

Pulo Temblang, upon which there is a Village containing about 20 Houses and 100 Inhabitants. Up this River, about ten miles, is a place called Membang Segara, where Tuanko Busnoo, Brother of the King of Quedah, formerly resided.

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## KUBONG BOYA AND BATU AMPAR.

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Two Rivers of considerable size, up which the Siamese have lately been building and equipping some Prows of a large size. There is at present, in consequence, a considerable population of Siamese and Malay Prisoners from Quedah and the Langkawi Islands, who are all employed in the construction of Boats.

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## MERAKIT AND CHE BILANG.

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Are two small Rivers, a little to the Northward of a prominent Point, called Tanjong Pau.

## TEMBLANG, MERPAH AND BELURU.

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Are three small Rivers which fall into a deep Bay, called Teluk Merpa, formed by Pulo Temblang, and a projecting spit of Land called Tanjong Gabus. The number of Houses from Lingow to Tanjong Gabus, up the several Rivers beforementioned, are reckoned at a thousand, and the Inhabitants about 5000, principally Fishermen and Cultivators of Paddy.

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## KWALA PUJU.

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Is a narrow shallow River up which, a few reaches, is a small Village, with about one hundred Inhabitants.

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## PURLIS.

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This River is in 6° 21' North. Opposite its mouth, is a small low Sandy Island, called Pulo Ketam. The River is narrow, but deep, but there is a shoal Bar at the en-



trance. The former King of Quedah resided many years at Kiangon, about 10 miles up the River. Bender Kangar, the first Village, is about 4 miles up, and Kampong Arau up a small branch to the right, between Kiangon and Kangar. After passing Kangar, it branches off to the right by two Channels, the first called Simpang ka Gunong, which takes its rise from a mountain called Gunong Griang, at the base of which is a Village containing about 40 Houses. Another Channel unites with the Quedah River, and a considerable distance farther up, is a Channel called Simpang Sungei Wang Pia, which communicates with a very large River Sungei Tasi Pahana, which issues from an extensive lake; one branch leads on towards Sangora on the other side of the Peninsula, and the main branch takes its course towards the Western side by innumerable Channels, forming principally the Purlis, Kedda, and Mirbow Rivers, and the several intermediate and smaller Streams. On the left, is a place called Pulut, and an I-land formed by the Purlis Channel to Sangora and the Simpang Sungei Wang Pia, named Pulo Maharaja. To the right, a mountain called Wang Batu Betangar. The total number of Houses up the Purlis River, as far as the mountain beforementioned, are estimated at 2500. A few miles to the Southward of the Purlis River, is

## KRONG TANGAH.

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A small shallow River, with a Village of 30 Houses,  
and next

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## SANGLANG.

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With 50 Houses on its banks.

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## JERLOON.

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With 20 Houses.

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## GRIANG.

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With 100 Houses, the Inhabitants of which cultivate Paddy. There is a small Channel which unites the Griang with the Kedda River, called Sungei Malacca.

## KEDDAH.

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The Mouth of this River is in Latitude  $6^{\circ} 6'$  North. There is an extensive Mud Flat off the entrance, but there is sufficient Water at spring tides to admit a Vessel of 300 Tons. There are stakes across the River's Mouth, leaving only a small narrow Channel for Junks and Prows. The Fort, surrounded by a Brick Wall in a delapidated state, and about half a mile in circumference, is situated on the left Point at the mouth of the River, above which is the first or Seaport Town, called Bender Pakan Kwala, containing about 1000 Houses on both sides of the River. Mr Monckton who was formerly sent there from Bengal, had a small Factory on the right side, called Sebrang Nonia. Above the first Town, the River branches off to the left, by a Channel, named Simpang ka Jerloon, on the left bank of which stands a Village called Padang Lalang, containing 20 Houses. This unites with the Purlis, and re-unites with the Keddah, a considerable distance inland. The Keddah River branches off into innumerable Channels, which it would be tedious to enumerate, uniting with the Mirbow to the right. Above Allustar, which was a large and populous Town, containing about 2000 Houses, and which is four hours pull from the entrance, there is a bifurcation of the River, and the left branch is

called Sungei Anak Bukit, the right Sungei Limbong. These unite in the interior. At the period of the Siamese irruption, the Quedah Country was very populous, and in describing the Villages and number of Houses, I must be understood as having reference to that period. Of the present state of the Country, it is difficult to obtain any satisfactory account. The present information was principally supplied by the King of Quedah, and some of his attendants, from memory, having lost all the records containing the census of population &c. which he caused to be taken occasionally. When the Siamese invaded the Country, there were 128 Mukims, in the Quedah State. Marsden describes a Mukim to be like our Parishes in England. In speaking of Achcen, he says,\* "The whole Kingdom is divided into certain small Districts or Communities, called Mukim, which seem to be equivalent to our Parishes, and their number is reckoned at one hundred and ninety." According to the Quedah Regulations, a Mukim is a division of the people, which must consist of not less than forty four men well qualified to perform the ceremonies of their Religion at a Mesejid, or Mosque; but it may consist of several hundreds, or even thousands. If there is no Mosque, no assembly or division of the people can be termed a Mukim. In some of the inland parts, or grazing Grounds, where there are many Inhabitants, there is perhaps only one Mukim, and if, as asserted, there are 128 Mukims in the Kingdom, it

\* Marsden's Sumatra. Page 403

must tend to convey a very favorable idea of the populous State of the Country. The computation, however, includes Purlis, Lingow, Setool, and other dependencies of the Quedah State.

I shall now endeavour to give some account of the Villages in the interior. Up the Anak Bukit, which takes nearly a straight or westerly course from its source, are the following small Streams and Villages, viz.

Sungei Mamplum containing.....	20	Houses.
Sungei Mergong .....	} 70	"
Sungei Gunong Sali .....		
Sungei Batia .....		
Kampong Teluk Jan.....	10	"
Alastar .....	2000	"
Kanchat .....	10	"
Labu Pringi .....	10	"
Alur Rajah.....	30	"
Alur Semada.....	20	"
Alur Merah.....	} 300	"
Suka Menanti.....		
Anak Bukit.....		
Pompong .....	40	"
Titik Gajah.....	10	"
Kampong Tokama.....	10	"
Padang Sewajana.....	100	"

Here the Limbong is again united with the Anak Bukit, and the River is called Bahor, beyond which is a place called Tanjong Pauh and Alur Ganu, where the

Siamese usually remained when they came to make demands upon Quedah. This is between the Kwala Bahor and Sungei Tegal, after which are

Kwala Tanglak.....10.

Padang Luar.....40.

Padang Trap.....20.

This is close to a mountain called Wang Batu Betangar, ten days journey for boats pulling against the strong current, from the mouth of the Quedah River.

The Limbong takes its course in a southerly direction for several miles, after which it separates by two branches and re-unites by four different Channels to the Anak Bukit, or main stream of the Quedah River. The first place is Tanjong Bindahara,

Akar Beluru, containing..... 20 Houses.

Pankalan Kundur..... 10    "

Ganding..... 12    "

Pankalan Putar..... 10    "

Tanjong Misri..... 10    "

Tanjong Grigis..... 10    "

On the Simpang Trus Channel,

Deraga..... } 100    "

Titik Siam..... }

Alur Malei..... 20    "

Utan Pulei - - - - - 20    "

On the Kwala Bahor Channel,

Tajor - - - - - 40    "

Pagar Ayer - - - - - 80    "

Alur Bulu - - - - -	20	Houses.
Kubong Buaya - - - - -	40	"
Pankalan Machang - - - - -	} 500	"
Limbong - - - - -		
Pankalan Tomea - - - - -		
Alur Betangar - - - - -		
Trong Asam - - - - -	20	"
Lepai - - - - -	40	"
Pankalan Gajah Mati - - - - -	200	"
Kampong Sapalu - - - - -	10	"

On the fourth large branch, called Simpang Rambei, is Rambei containing 10 Houses, to the right of which is a Channel leading off to the Mirbow, and the following Villages, Alur Parit - - - - - 20 Houses.

Piadang - - - - -	10	"
Padang Posing - - - - -	20	"
Padang Karbau - - - - -	309	"

and considerably higher up are two mountains, named Gunong Garam and Fakir Terbang, close to which is Peclow, containing 20 Houses, and a River issues from them on the Eastern side which takes its course through the Patani Country and empties itself into the Sea on the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula. These mountains form the Boundary between the States of Quedah and Patani. We may reckon the number of Inhabitants upon an average generally of five to a House. There are many small Villages not noticed.

**NAME.**—The name of the Capital of the Quedah Country formerly was Lindong-an-bulan, shaded from the Moon, so called from being situated under the lofty mountain Jerei. Afterwards it received the name of Quedah, signifying an enclosure for Elephants, which signification that word bears also in the Pegue Country, according to Symes.

**FORMER STATE OF THE COUNTRY.**—At the time of the cession of Pinang, Mr. Light represented the Quedah Country as containing a population of 100,000 within the Area of 150 miles by 30 or 35, the Country as healthy and fruitful; that it produced much Grain, Cattle, Poultry and Fish in abundance; that the Export of Rice in 1785 to other Countries was 2000 Coyans or 80,000 Piculs,\* the price of Bullocks 3 to 5 Dollars, Buffaloes from 4 to 6, Fowls 30 to 40 per Dollar, Rice two Bengal Bazar Maunds per Dollar, and sometimes less, and Fruits in great abundance. Prior to the occupation of Prince of Wales Island by the English, this was a place of considerable trade, and numerous British as well as native Vessels from the distant Islands of the Archipelago, and the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel resorted there. There was also a large Junk annually from China, the Exports consisted of Beech de Mer, Birds Nests, Sharks' Fins, Tin, Rice, Rattans, Dammar, Tortoise Shell, Deer Skins and Sinews, Bul-

\* During many years preceding the conquest of Quedah by the Siamese, the quantity of Rice and Paddy Imported into Pinang from thence annually, rarely fell short of 2000 Coyans, but since that event it has scarcely exceeded one tenth the quantity above stated.



lock and Buffaloe Hides and Horns, and various other Commodities. The abstraction of the Trade from Quedah to Pinang, occasioned a loss of Revenue to the King of 20,000 Dollars annually.

CHIEFS OF THE COUNTRY.—I have been unable to trace, in a satisfactory way, the History of the Chiefs of Quedah, beyond the Grand Father of the present King. The first settlers at Kedah were from Malacca, the Inhabitants of which came originally from Menangkabau, in the interior of Sumatra. The King, who was possessed of various historical records, lost them all upon the Siamese Invasion. In a work however in my possession, which I have been some time engaged in translating, containing the Laws, Port Regulations, Court Ceremonies, &c. of Quedah, adapted from the Undang Undang Malayu, I find, that these Laws and Regulations were compiled by order of Sultan Rajil Aludin Mahomed Shah, who reigned at a place called Naga, in Quedah; no mention is made of the period when the Sovereign reigned; but he is supposed to have died a little more than a century ago. The Grand Father of the present King was Sultan Mahomed Jewa, styled Sultan Abdil Ma-alum Shah Al-sultan Mahomed Jewa Kalifat Rahaman Zeina Adelin Ma-alum Shah, and at his death, called Marhum Kianggan, or the Saint of Kianggan, his residence during the last few years of his life being at a place of that name up the River Purlis. He was King in Mr. Monckton's time. His Son succeeded him, under the name of Sultan

Abdullah Mahkurram Shah. Mr. Light says "The old King had no issue by his lawful Wife, and Sultan Abdullah was a natural Son, his Mother being a Slave Girl. The old King had two Brothers, and several Nephews, who thought themselves injured by the election of this Bastard to the succession. In the year 1770, they raised a Rebellion, and brought the people of Salengore and Perak to their assistance. They entered Quedah, but finding the people did not join them, they burnt Allustar, then a very flourishing Town, and at the Kwala, took several of the Coast Vessels, and carried off a considerable deal of plunder. The old King was so much enraged, that he forbid their ever returning to the Country. The disappointed Princes returned to Salengore, where they died in want and misery. Only one of their Children is left, who lives with the present King. The old King then married his favorite Son to the Daughter of the Laxsamana. At the old King's death, which happened in 1778, his Son was acknowledged King. The King is a weak man, too fond of Money, very relax in the execution of the Laws, not so much from a principle of clemency, as timidity. His income consists in monopolizing all the Trade and the produce of the Mines. He receives likewise a deal in presents and fines; every person who has any demand to make, or suit to prefer first presents a Sum of Money which he thinks adequate to the demand; if the King approves of the Sum, he Signs the Paper, and the Suit is obtained, unless another person comes with a

greater Sum. He receives a small duty upon every Prow, and upon the Sale of Cattle and Slaves. The Ryots are obliged to cultivate his Lands, and to defend the Country at their own charge." This was the Chief who ceded Prince of Wales Island to the English. From the tradition of the natives of the present day, however, it does not appear, that Sultan Abdullah was a natural Son of Sultan Mahomed Jewa, as mentioned by Mr. Light, though I am disposed to consider his account correct, and that the King of Quedah has an object in passing over this part of the History of his ancestors. It is stated, that Sultan Mahomed Jewa had two Wives and three Children, viz two Sons and a Daughter. The eldest Son, Abdullah, succeeded to the Throne, and the younger, Taabodeen, became Rajah Muda of Purlis. The Daughter married the Rajah of Patani, Tuanko Rajah Chara, who had a Daughter named Tuanko Kunit.

Sultan Abdullah had two Wives, Wan Meh, and Wan Mas, and four favorite Concubines, viz. Che Bonda, Che Mas, Chendra Sari, and Bida Sari. By Che Bonda, he had three Sons and a Daughter; the Sons named Tuanko Ibrahim, Solyman, and Kusoo. The second Wife had nine Children, viz. three Sons and six Daughters, the Sons named Tuanko Pangeran\* Busnoo, and Petra Wan Meh the other Wife had no Children. The second Concubine had one Son, named Tuanko Daud. The third Concubine had two Sons, named Tuanko Amboon and

\* The present Ex-King of Quedah.

Mahomed, and two Daughters; and the fourth Concubine had two Daughters; Sultan Abdullah died during the time Mr. Caunter was Acting Superintendent of Pinang in the year 1798, and was succeeded in the Government by his Brother the Rajah Mooda of Purlis, under the title of Sultan Tleaoodeen Makhurum Shah. This Chief granted the Territory on the main to the Honorable Company, in Sir George Leith's time. After some time, Sultan Tleaoodeen getting old, became weary of conducting the affairs of Government, and he transferred it to Tuanko Pangeran, the eldest Son of the late King's second Wife, and Tuanko Ibrahim became Rajah Mooda. This arrangement and resignation of the Sultan Tleaoodeen in favor of his Nephew, was voluntary. Tuanko Pangeran had some time before proceeded to Siam, where he remained some months, to pay his respects to the Emperor and to conciliate his good will. All the Chiefs and Nobles of the Country unanimously consented to receive Tuanko Pangeran as their King, and he assumed the reigns of Government in the year of the Heijerat 1218, or A. D. 1804, and afterwards took the title of Sultan Ahmed Tajuddin Halim Shah. He is thus styled by the Siamese Government, Chou Pia Ratismeram Ramapuck dae Sri Sultan Mahomed Ratna Rajah Budin Tersurin Terwerei Wangsa Chou Pia Cherei Burei—Cherei being the Siamese name of Quedah.

In such a large family of Sons, it was natural to expect there would be many disputes in respect to their separate

authority, and in the division of the Patrimonial property, and the late King often complained that he could not controul his numerous Nephews, who were each aspiring to power. Tuanko Ibrahim, Daud, and Busnoo, each laid claim to part of the annnal subsidy, and the former engaged in open rebellion against his Brother the King, but was overcome by the Laxsamana at Kwala Muda, where he had fortified himself, and soon after died.

Another Brother, Solyman has long resided on the borders of the Honorable Company's Territory in the Prye District, and has always conducted himself with great propriety. The present King, who is now in exile at Pinang, appear always to have maintained a good character. Lieutenant Governor Farquhar says of him "Pangeran, the present King, is a young man, whom report speaks more favorably of, than of the other Princes, and who, if treated with liberality, may be secured as a real and firm friend. If it be admitted therefore, that near neighbours are either firm friends, or bitter enemies, we ought to be at some pains to secure the friendship of this Chief, whose aid, if he were inimical to our Government, might enable even a weak enemy to attempt and persevere in that, which, without the King's assistance, he would never have presumed to undertake." The present King has two Sons grown up, named Tuanko Abdullah and Tuanko Jakooob, the latter his favorite, who was carried off by the Siamese and has been in confinement at Ligore ever since.

After the capture of Quedah, the Rajah of Ligore ostensibly transferred the Government of that Country to the former Sultan or Regent Tleaoodeen, (Uncle of the Ex-Rajah,) who was very old and infirm. The only object of this policy was to obtain from the British Government, the annual subsidy of Ten thousand Dollars, heretofore paid to the King of Quedah. The trick was too apparent to be overlooked, and was treated as it merited, by the Pinang Government, when an application was made, in Tleaoodeen's name, for the Money. The old Sultan, worn down by age and infirmity, died last year.

The authority and particular duties of the Bandhara, Laksamana, Tamungong and other Ministers and Officers of State, with the etiquette of the Court, &c. will be found described in the Undang undang or Code of Laws and Regulations which I have been engaged in translating. The Bandhara is the first Officer, Treasurer or high Steward; he has charge of all the King's Vassals, has a large Portion of land and a certain number of Ryots to maintain his State. He is the ranger or Overseer of the forests and lands. He is General of the Army in time of War. The Laxsamana is the Admiral; he governs all the Islands and the Kwala, and has charge of the Sea Coast. He has a great number of Dependants.

ANIMALS, BIRDS, FISH.—In the Forests of Quedah and throughout the Peninsula, are to be found an immense variety of Animals, of which the principal are Elephants black and spotted, Rhinoceros designated by the Ma-



lays Badak Himpit, tampong and raya, plain and spotted, several species of the Tiger, viz. Harimau balur, Turunkasau, the spotted and black Leopard, Harimau kumbang; Tiger Cats; Buffaloes; Wild Bullocks, called Lember Sapi, very handsome and powerful Animals, with particularly fine limbs like an Elk, and their horns, which are very long, resemble those of the large English Bullocks. There are also spotted Deer, Elk, Antelopes, Mouse Deer; Civet Cat, Guanas, Porcupines, many varieties of Monkeys, viz. Kra, Lotong, Bruk, Siamang, Wangsa, Konkang and Mawa; Bears, Otters, the Sloth, Foxes and flying Foxes and Squirrels. Of Birds there is an endless variety; but their plumage is little valued, except that of the Argus Pheasant and Peacock, which are very numerous. The Argus Pheasant frequents the most lonely and impenetrable parts of the forest, is naturally a very shy bird, and when caught, difficult to keep alive. Of Pheasants there are many beautiful species. Fish of the choicest and most delicate description is extremely abundant in every part of the Coast, and many sorts of shell fish are also procurable. It would be in vain attempting an enumeration of the various kinds which are obtainable, I possess the names and description of upwards of 150 species. The Animal productions of this valuable Country are even surpassed in number and abundance by those of the Vegetable Kingdom, of which I shall proceed to give a hasty sketch.

**VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.**—I shall arrange these as well as I am able, under their respective heads, from the information of the natives, beginning with the largest Trees of the Forest, which are employed for useful purposes, and of which there is an inexhaustible supply on the mountains of Quedah, and indeed throughout the Peninsula.

**PLANKS AND CROOKED TIMBER FOR SHIPS.**—The largest Trees which furnish the best Timber for Planks and Timbers for Vessels, are the Sanei, Giam, Chingal, Temama Batu, Jati Bunga, and Meranti. Some of these Trees grow to a prodigious size, and the Timber of all of them is durable.

**BEAMS AND POSTS FOR HOUSES, &c.**—Those most commonly used as Pillars and Beams for Houses, and also occasionally in Ship building, are Temusu Mas, Medang Lilin, Medang Ramangi, Medang Gatal, Medang Lebar Daun, Medang Telur, Medang Payong, Medang Kaladi, Medang Tijar, and Dammar Laut. The latter is universally preferred as Beams for Houses at Prince of Wales Island.

**PLANKS FOR HOUSES AND COFFINS.**—For Flooring Planks and other purposes of that nature, the Nangka Pipit, Alban Tandok, Bungor and Ipil are generally preferred. The Pulei is used for Coffins.

**FURNITURE TIMBER.**—The Trees most prized for making Furniture and Cabinet Work, are the Kangas, or Red Wood, which admits of a fine polish. The next in



estimation are Mirbow, Chichar, Rasu Puchu Etam, Seraya, Temusutaik Karbau, and Arang, or Black Wood.

**MASTS.**—For Masts of Ships, the Betangor Batu, or Red Poon, and Betangor Bunga, or White Poon have been generally used.

**FLOWERING TREES.**—The Natives are very partial to the Flowers of the Pakulu, Chumpa, Kenanga and Sena, all which Trees grow to a considerable size, and are very ornamental in Gardens.

**KRIS AND SWORD HANDLES AND MUSKET STOCKS.**—The Wood of the Kamuning and Katanga Trees, are used for making handles for Creeses, Swords and other side Arms, and the Nianiris for the Stocks of Muskets and Matchlocks.

**OIL AND DAMMAR TREES**—Wood Oil is principally extracted from the Kruing Tree, Dammar and Gums from innumerable Trees; Sala is a Wood used by the Hindoos for burning their dead, and found in small quantities, being occasionally exported to the Coast by the Chuliah Vessels.

**MEDICINAL TREES.**—From the Chenana Jangi, is extracted a juice efficacious in the cure of Bowel Complaints, and the Mertajam for Head Aches and Fever.

**DYE WOOD AND PERFUME.**—The Sepang and Mangkudu are in plenty, and used for dyeing, the former occasionally exported in small quantities. The Gahru, so much prized for its perfume and used in the Temples and Religious edifices, is also a native of the Peninsula.

**PALMS.**—Of the Palm species, the following varieties are most abundant throughout the Peninsula, viz. the Nibong, a tall slender Palm used in the construction of Native Houses for Posts, Flooring, &c. and for various other purposes; Inior, the Cocoanut, the largest of any of the Palms; Pinang, the Betelnut, resembling the Nibong; Rambia, from which the Sago is procured, much the same in appearance; Dangsa and Dudor, two other varieties not unlike the Betelnut, but applied to no useful purpose; Serdang, the leaves of which are used for thatching Houses; the Tree is nearly as large as the Cocoanut; Anau, another large Palm from which Sugar and Toddy are extracted, and a substance which makes Cables and Rope, and Tal, a small species of Cocoanut, much prized by the natives. This is a low Palm, the stem is enveloped with a rough substance, somewhat resembling coarse sackcloth.

**OTHER TREES OF THE FOREST.**—Besides the Forest Trees before enumerated, as applied to the purposes of Ship and House building, &c. there are many others of inferior quality occasionally used for such and other purposes, viz. Tangar, Mamba, Kilim, Brnas, Api Api, Bakow, Dedap, Mangkudu Besar, Budi, Ara, Ara Lampong, Jekawi, Bubaru, Sungkei, Saga Besar, Makoyan, Jeliti, Bnkoi, Tampinis, Nipis Kulit, Galat, Galam, Mati Anak, Langkadei, Prapat, Atool, Balang, Chemunar, Pulat, Chingking, Bubuta.

**RATTANS.**—There are seventeen varieties of the Rotan or Rattan, viz. Semambu, Batu, Sini, Bubuar, Dullanan,

Bakow, Halban, Hilang, Gaim, Pasir, Sabut, Jernang, Tawar, Pai, Teling, Dini and Segar.

**BAMBOOS.**—Of Bamboos eleven sorts, viz. Bulu Betong, Aour Dini, Aour Miniak, Aour Gading, China, Kechil, Pai, Mati Ruas, Belalei, Ipi, Timiang.

**FLOWERS.**—The Malor, Pengaga, Chumpaka, Pekula, Randa, Malor Susun, Susun Kalapa, Ganda Suli, Paridi, Sundal and Malor Utan are the principal Flowers and Shrubs cultivated by the Malays, and sold in the market places, forming as they do, a part of the ornaments of the Musicians and Dancers at their nautes, and made great use of in their marriage Ceremonies.

**FRUIT TREES.**—Few Countries possess such a vast profusion of Fruits, most of which grow spontaneously without any culture. The first Fruit in the estimation of the natives themselves is the Durian, well known for its peculiarly powerful odoriferous qualities. Of Mangoes (Mampalam) there are five varieties, viz. the Mampalam, Mampalam Siam, Achee, Bamban and Telur, besides four sorts of Wild Mangoes called Machang, Machang Chupah, Siku and Lada. Of the Jambu (a species of Apple) there are the Jambu Kling Merah, (red) Ayer Mawa, (which tastes like Rose Water,) Jambu Biji, the Guava, Iron the Cashew Apple, and another sort called Britis. Of the Jack species, there are the Chumpada, Nangka, Nangka Bubor, and Nangka Belulong. Of the Orange kind, the Limau Kadangsa, Manis, China, Chimbul, Kapas, Nipis, Pagar, Karbau, Kinsi and Krat Lin-

tang. The Mangoostan, Rambutan, Duku, Langsat, Tampoya, and Tampoui, all delicious fruits, are in the greatest profusion. Besides these are the following, some of which are entirely Jungle fruits, and some partially cultivated, viz. Belimbing Bulu, and Belimbing Linching, Rumia, Tampal, Jejinti, Setool, Setial, Delima, Krangi Lutong, Kandes Besar, Asam Jawa, Ramuyia Subuiar-naman, Galugor, Chermei, Kadanda, Pupur Tambun, Pupur Dendang, Krikop Besar, Krikop Buru, Sanga, Pauk, Bedara, Punti, Binjal, Binda, Lanjat, Sepam, Jan-gas, Setar, Ramungei, Kedaha, Berimbang, Kaletu, and nineteen species of Plantains, viz. Pisang Gading, Jelei, Susu, Burtatua, Udang, Paib, Amas, Bengala, Mas Ayer, Mas Utan, Kelat, Kelat Barat, Kelat Ayer, Benga-la tiada Biji, Pendit, Raga, Bagaran, Berasa, and Chan-gal Petri.

**SUGAR CANE.**—The Sugar Cane grows in the greatest perfection, and is eaten by the Malays in large quantities. There are three sorts, viz. Betong, Mera, and Rotan.

**CULINARY VEGETABLES.**—The most commonly cultivated Vegetables are the Trong, or Brinjal, sometimes called the Egg plant, of which there are six varieties, viz. Trong duda Haruan, Panjang, Rapu, Prat, Pipit, and Belanda. Of Chillis there are the Chabei besar, Chabei chuchuk, and Chabei sundal. Of Peas, or Pulse, Ka-chang Sepat, Kalissa, Chemara putih, Chemara mera and Kaya. Of Sayur Bayam, there are six sorts used by the

Malays, viz. Bayam benar, Merah, Umah, Duri, Tubah and Rusak. Of the Cucumber kind, three sorts, viz. Timon batang, Ringan and Batik, besides three other kinds of bitter Cucumbers called Patola Linchin, Belimbing and Ular. Pumpkins, Labu Mera and Labu Ayer. Yams and Sweet Potatoes are cultivated at all the Malayan States on the Peninsula, and the Malays are never at loss for Vegetable substances to mix in their Curries, as the Woods produce innumerable esculent plants and leaves.

MINERALS — Allusion has already been made to the Tin Mines with which the Peninsula abounds. Gold is also found in several places, and in the Quedah Country, there is abundance of Iron Ore, similar to that manufactured by the Siamese into Quallies and Cooking Utensils, of which very large quantities are imported annually into the British Settlements by the Chinese Junks from Bangkok.

To the Southward of the Quedah River are

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## TABANGOW.

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A very small River, with a Village of 20 Houses.

## SALAH.

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A little wider, with a Village of 10 Houses.

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## BADAK. RUGA. IAN.

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With several small Villages and 100 Houses. These are scarcely larger than Rivulets, and only one Prow can pass at a time. This last place is celebrated for Fruit, particularly Dorians.

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## MIRBOW.

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Is thus described by Milburn. "About 18 Miles to the Southward of Quedah; it is a large River, deep and rapid. The Water here always fresh to the Sea; the heavy surge which breaks upon this shore during the S. W. Monsoon, has, by opposing the Current from the

River, formed a dangerous Sand Bank, extending three Miles out to the Sea, and on which there is only a fathom Water. This River is however convenient on account of its situation with the Tin Mines. The Annual produce here is about 1000 Piculs. This small quantity is not, however, owing to the scarcity of Ore, but to the want of hands, and to the few people employed." To the Northward of this River, about 6 or 7 Miles, are four Islands called the Boontings, named Boonting, Sonson, Pangyl, Bidang, signifying literally, Pregnant, quickly, call, Midwife. These Islands are well known as the favorite resort of Turtle and Pirates. Close to the Southern point of the River, are two Hills, called Bukit Pinjara, and Bukit Pitri, where there are several small Batteries. To the left of the Muda, about twenty-five Miles in the interior, is the lofty Mountain called Gunong Jerei, whose sharp Peak forms an excellent Land Mark for Navigators making the Island of Pinang. The Natives have many fabulous traditions concerning this Mountain, and believe, that there is an evil Spirit residing upon the Peak. A peculiar and savage race of people, called Semang, are found upon and near the base of the Mountain Jerei. The Mirbow unites with the Quedah River in the interior, by a channel, called Simpang Rambei; and near Pulo Tiga, or three Islands, which are in the centre of the River, half a day's pull up, is a canal of communication with the Kwala Muda, which was cut by the present King a few years ago. The following



streams fall into the Mirbow between the mouth and the distance of twenty-four hours pull up; viz.

Sungei Mirbow to the left with a Village of 60 Houses.	
Sungei Dedap to the right.....	none.....
Sungei Birgang.....left.....	30 „
Sungei Batu.....do.....	none.....
Sungei Patani.....right.....	
At Pulo Tiga or Three Islands.....	100 „
Sungei Limbing on the left .....	30 „
Sungei Tukang.....right.....	none.....
Sungei Ayer Nasi.... left.....	
Sungei Geta.....right.....	
Pankalan Assam on the left Bank of the	} 2 „
Main Stream .....	
Bidung on the right .....	5 „

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Total 227 Houses

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which, at an average of five Inhabitants to each, gives a Population of 1,135 Souls on the Banks of the Mirbow, when the Siamese took possession.

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## MUDA.

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This forms the Northern boundary of the Honorable Company's Territories on the Main. The mouth of this

River is nearly directly opposite the small Island called Pulo Tikus, off the Northern Point of Pinang. There is a very shallow Bar at the entrance, which renders it difficult for Prows to enter when it blows hard. This River is extremely rapid, and inside the Bar has 2, 3 and 4 fathoms in some places. Its source is at the foot of the Mountain Sablah in the Patani Country. On the opposite side, the Patani River, which empties itself on the Eastern side of the Peninsula, also take its rise, and it is positively asserted by the Malays, that the Perak River has its source at the base of the same Mountain, which is remarkable, the mouths of two Rivers being distant about a degree and half of Latitude. The fact is confirmed, however, by the Rajah of Perak's Letter to the King of Quedah in 1814, in which he says, "the Patani people have attacked our Country, and taken possession of our Tin Mines."

On the left bank of the River, about a Mile up, is a miserable Village called Kota Lama, where there are the remains of an old Brick Fortification. After passing the Company's Territory, which extends only three miles inland, there is another Village on the left bank, called Kota Aom; to the right, a small Stream called Sungei Udang. About two days pull up, there is a junction of the two Streams which form the Muda. To the right is a Village called Katumba, containing 20 Houses; a short distance above this, is a small Stream to the right, called Sungei Kupong, with 20 Houses. Another to the left, Sungei Li-

mau 25 Houses, and to the right, not far beyond the last, is Sungei Pulei, five days journey in Boats from the mouth of the River, where there is a small Town, with 100 Houses. The Quedah authority extends as far as this. Here it is the Tin, which is carried across from the Mines of Kroh, is put into small Boats to bring down the River. Nearly opposite Pulei, is a lofty mountain called Gunong Wang, and above this, a small Tributary Stream, Sungei Bungor, with a small Village of 20 Houses. A very short distance from this, are Kalian Mas, Ampat Ayer, Kroh, and Kalian Intan, on the principal Tin Mines in the Patani Country.

From Kroh to a place called Kapih, is one day's journey.

„ Kapih to Beetong, a quarter of a day.

„ Beetong to Rambong the same.

„ Rambong to Jarong the same. Here Pangulu Mahomed, the principal Owner of the Tin Mines resides.

„ Jarong to Kota Baru, five days.

All the beforementioned places are under the authority of the Rajah of Kota Baru, named Tuan Raman. At the distance of a few days journey round Kota Baru, in the Patani Country, are numerous Petty States, under different Rajahs, or independent Chiefs, of which the following are the principal.

From Kota Baru to Belong, 10 days. The Chief is Rajah Belong. Here Gold is obtained; about 10 Catties in the year.

„ Ditto to Ligi 2 days, under Rajah Belong.

From Kota Seepoh 4 days, under Aluang Nit Besar.

„ Ditto Jala 1 day, under Tuan Sisik.

„ „ Sei 2 days, under Neckdah.

„ „ Nochi 2 days, under Tuan Tangah.

„ „ Kwala Bukka 3 days, Tuan Besar.

„ „ Pankalan 2 days, Rajah Jerring.

„ „ Jambu 2 days, Rajah Jambu.

The Country is represented to be extremely populous, and must be so, as in 1820, Syed Allee, Nephew of Malacca Tuanko Syed Hamed of Patani, whose Country is Kamoja, had then, by his own account, 40,000 disposeable fighting Men, besides what he could obtain from his neighbouring Malayan Allies, and he proposed to subdue the States of Sangora, Ligor, and Mandelong, if the British Government would co-operate, and take the capital of Siam. In soliciting an Alliance with the British Government at that time, as his neighbour the King of Kallantan did last year, who in fact offered his Country to the English, reserving for himself half the Revenues, Syed Hamed holds out as an inducement, that “ the Exports of Patani are 1<sup>st</sup> arising from Gold Mines; 2<sup>ndly</sup> the Tin Mines, Salt Chokies and Cardamums, and in all the Islands much profit may be obtained from Bird Nests, Tin, and Kasturi Wood.”

TIN.—At Kroh Tin Mines, there have been usually 50 Bahars, and at Kalian Intan close to it 200 Bahars, annually obtained. One Ganton of Ore produces 7 Bidor, 1 Bidor is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Catties. The Tin is carried down to Pulei

upon Elephants and Buffaloes, the usual load for an Elephant being one Bahar, and for a Buffalo half that quantity or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Picul. There are great obstructions at present to bringing the Tin down the Kwala Muda, being infested by Pirates, some of the refugees from Quedah and the Lancavy Islands.\* The Tin Ore is put into a large Pot with a hole in the bottom, mixed with Charcoal; underneath is a Quallie or Iron Pot, made at Siam, to contain the Pure Metal, and a pair of rudely constructed Belows, called Pengumbus, fastened above.

Cattle are very abundant in the Patani Country, Buffaloes and Bullocks from 1 to 3 each,\* Goats  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Dollar, Fowls 2 per 100, and Rice is generally 25 Gantons per Dollar, or two Maunds and an eighth.

We now come to the Territory of the Honorable Company, which extends from the Southern bank of the Kwala Muda, to the Northern bank of the Krian, a distance of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a degree. I shall briefly enumerate the Rivers on this part of the Coast; an account of the Villages, Population, &c. falling more properly under the head of Pinang.

\* Since this was written a considerable supply of Tin has been obtained from the Patani Country through the judicious arrangements of Mr. Maingy, the Superintendent of Wellesly Province and there is every prospect of an increasing Trade.

\* Several hundred Head of Cattle have lately been brought down from the Patani Country to Province Wellesly.

## BUKKAH.

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Is the next to the Kwala Muda, a very diminutive Stream, about five miles to the Southward, in which Prows only of the smallest size can enter at high Water. Here is the principal Settlement on the Company's Territory on the main, where the Superintendent resides.

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## PRYE.

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Is abreast of the North part of Pinang, called Flat Point, where George Town stands. This River goes about 20 miles through a Flat Country, with a very winding course to where it diminishes into a small Rivulet. There is a small Trus or Channel of communication with the Muda. Captain Forest in the Fly Ketch, escaped from the Dutch Cruizer which chased him out of Quedah Roads, by rowing up this River, while the Dutch thought he had passed between Pinang and the Main. There is a Mud Bar at the entrance, with 12 or 13 feet Water, and it carries 3 fathoms to near its source, and the Channel which

leads from the Kwala Muda, is only navigable for the smallest Canoes. There are several Villages on its banks beyond the limits of the Company's Territory, viz. Kota, Kampong Tuanko Solyman, where the King of Quedah's Brother has resided some years, and Labu Bunting. To the Southward of Kota, are two Hills called Bukit Jullutong and Gerak Ipok.

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## JOOROO.

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Is a small River, about three miles to the Southward of Prye. On the right, is a remarkable Hill, called Bukit Bagan Nanas, and about two miles inland on the left, Bukit Tangah.

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## JUNJONG.

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Is the next small River. On the right side is Pulo or Bukit Batu Kawan, an Island close to the main which extends along shore about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile, and fronting this, are two Islands called Pulo Kra, or Monkey Islands; to the Southward of which are



## BATU KAWAN. TANGAR. CHANGKAT KALIDANG.

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three very inconsiderable Streams, and then comes the River which forms the Boundary between the Honorable Company's territory and the State of Perak, called

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## KRIAN,

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which has lately been frequented by some of the Malays who have fled from Quedah. Up this River, Rattans are obtained. After passing a prominent Point, called Tanjong Belana, the next River is

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## TIANG.

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Here there are no Inhabitants; but it is a favorite resort of the Pirates, who have cleared away a very pretty Spot near the entrance, where they land and enjoy themselves smoking Opium, Cockfighting, &c. Passing another Point, Tanjong Piandang, the next River is

## SELINGSING,

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also without Inhabitants, and frequented by Pirates at certain Seasons, usually in October and November.

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## SEPITANG.

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Is a wide River, but there is a very extensive Mud Flat, which lines the whole Coast from Krian to Trong, which renders it impossible for any but small vessels to enter these Rivers, some of which are deep inside. These afford a safe retreat for the Pirate Prows, which cannot be pursued by our Cruizers. Here there are about 50 Houses, and 250 Inhabitants.

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## SANGAH KECHIL AND SANGAH BESAR.

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Are also wide and deep Rivers, but no Inhabitants on their banks.

## LAROOT.

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Is wide, but shallow. There are about 100 Houses up this River.

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## TRONG.

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As large as the Prye, but extends farther into the interior. Here a good deal of Tin is brought down from the Perak mines. There are about fifty Houses, and two hundred and fifty Inhabitants. The Village of Sayong, near which the Tin is obtained, is four days sail up the River, from the entrance.

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## JARONG MAS.

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Another pretty considerable River, with about 30 Houses on its banks.

## BRUAS,

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Is another small Stream; there are 40 or 50 Houses,

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## KORAU,

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Is the next, a wide and rapid River. A few miles to the Southward of this River, is an Island called Pulo Talang, which abounds with Tin Ore, it is said; and between this Island and the Main, is a Channel for small Vessels called Salat Pulo Talang, or the Straits of Talang. Opposite the South point of this Island, is another River, called

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## GALAM,

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and a little farther on

## PUSSUYIU,

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both small Streams without Inhabitants. About a mile to the Southward of the last, is a very prominent point, Tanjong Chechuran Hantu, after rounding which, are the two Islands of Pulo Pankour Laut, and Pankour Darat. Vessels of considerable burthen can enter the Straits formed by the greater Pankour and the Main. After passing the Northern Point of the greater Pankour, there is a deep indented Bay, forming nearly a Semicircle on the Island, which is a favorite anchorage for Prows, and which is called by the Malays Labuhan Bilik, or the Room Anchorage. Nearly opposite this is

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## DINDING,

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a wide and deep River at the entrance, capable of admitting Vessels of a large size. About 7 Miles up, is a Village under a Chief of Salengore, containing about forty Houses. This River does not extend above 20 Miles into the interior. To the Southward of Pankour,

is a small Island called Pulo Kata, and from the Southern Point on the Main directly opposite, commences a deep Bay, called Teluk Batu, between which and the Perak River, which lies opposite the Sambilang, or Nine Islands, are the following small Rivers, (after passing

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## PULO PANKOUR.

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The large Pankour is in Lat.  $4^{\circ} 16'$  North. It is divided from the Main by a narrow Strait about one and a half mile to one and three quarters in width. It abounds in Canes, Rattans, Oil giving Trees, Dammar, and Crooked Timber for Ships. It is also said, that Tin is found on the Island. The Water is excellent, the Harbour safe, and it is in every respect, a most eligible Spot for a small Settlement and forming a Depot for the Tin collected in the neighbouring Countries of Perak, Salengore, and Colong. The ruins of a Dutch Fort, bearing an Inscription 1743, are still visible. Tin Ore is also said to have been found at the adjoining Islands of Pulo Kata and Pulo Talang. At the latter place, a Mine was wrought a few years ago, by Rajah Hussien, Son of the King of Salengore, when he resided at the Dindings. The Island is in the direct tract of Ships passing down the Straits of Malacca, and they indeed generally pass within a few miles of it, viz.

**PENDUT OR PUCHAT,  
LURIAN, LIKIR,**

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without Inhabitants.

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**TERAM, LUMBONG, AGAS.**

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On the banks of which three small Rivers are altogether about 200 Houses. There is a prominent point to the Northward of the Perak River, after passing Sungei Agas, called Tanjong Ketam.

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**PERAK.**

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The Current from this large River runs so strong, that at the distance of a mile from the mouth, the Water is quite fresh, during the rains. It will admit a vessel draw-



ing 12 feet; but the Channel is intricate, and the Bar hard sand. There is only one dangerous shoal in the River which is navigable for large vessels as far as Tanjong Putus, where the Dutch formerly had a factory, and the bottom is soft Mud. Both sides of the River are low and swampy except one Spot about five miles from the entrance, where there formerly was a Port, called Setia, and where the ground is a little more elevated, though, during the rains, sometimes partially overflowed.

Several large Streams fall into the Perak and the smaller Streams or Anak Sungei, as they are called by the Malays, are innumerable. The natives reckon the tributary Streams of the Perak at nine hundred and ninety nine; but this is merely a figurative way of conveying the idea of a vast number, which they have never given themselves the trouble of taking a correct account of. I shall now proceed to enumerate the principal Streams and Villages, with an estimate of the number of Houses, as detailed to me by several of the best informed natives of the Country, united to my personal observation, premising however, that I do not vouch for the accuracy of the native statements, which, imperfect and inaccurate as they are perhaps, may nevertheless serve to convey a more correct idea of the population of the Country, than has been heretofore possessed.

The following small Streams fall into the Perak River within the distance of seven or eight miles from its mouth, viz. Sungei Kling, Sungei Teram, Udang Udang Kechil,

Giyān Giyan Kechil. Kwala Dedap is a large Stream which falls in on the left, and receives three smaller, viz.

Pahlawat, on which are 30 Houses.

Sirih..... 140    „

Dalang ..... 60    „

Opposite Kwala Dedap, another falls in to the right, called Sungei Penialahan, the Tributary Streams of which are

Dalang with a Village of 70 Houses.

Sirih ..... 60    „

Palawat ..... 30    „

Beyond the Dedap, on the right and left are Pakolit, Tomanda, Simpang Binjei and Harrowan, with several small Villages containing 80 Houses.

A short distance above the last is Tanjong Putus, where the Dutch Fort formerly stood, called Kota Wolanda or Belanda; then the small Streams called Batu Kubit Jejawī, Dorian, Jelawat, Udang Abu, Kubu and Matania, with several small straggling Villages.

Kwala Bidor is the next, a large branch, on the banks of which are the following Villages, viz.

Kijai with ..... 20 Houses,

Rasau Rabali..... 40    „

Teluk Chang Kalibat 25    „

Sirdang ..... 40    „

Checkossan ..... 70    „

Krang..... 20    „

Above Kwala Bidor is Sungei Pukalei with . . 30 Houses, Sungei Benang, Mati, Lumut and Kwala Padang; up the last are the Villages of Digong with 20 Houses.

Meru.. . . . .	30	„
Jambi .. . . . .	80	„
Padang Sri .. . .	20	„
Jeram Mirbow ..	30	„ opposite
the last 3 small Islands, Pulo Tiga....	20	„

Nearly opposite the Batang Padang is a bay called Teluk Penada with a Village containing 40 Houses and a small Island on the right, Pulo Indra Sali with 15. Two miles beyond this, on the left bank stands the Village of Bender containing about 200 Houses and a mile above this, is the principal Town of the Country called Rantau Panjang or Long Reach, containing about 400 Houses.

On the right between Bender and Rantau Panjang, the Sungei Trap, a large Stream falls in, up which is a Village with 80 Houses.

Kwala Jandariang, Kampar and Sungei Rajah are three Tributary Streams which fall into the Perak, on the right, within the distance of ten miles above Rantau Panjang. Up the first are the Villages of Batu Ampar, containing . . . . 30 Houses.

Gedang Batu ..	40	„
Kwala Rambai ..	20	„
Lubuk Kawa ..	50	„
Jering .....	10	„

Up the Kampar are Penaick .. 20 Houses.

Jerang.. .. 20    „

Gaum..... 15    „

Pasir To Rama 15    „

Changkut .... 10    „

Bakka .. .... 30    „

Nior ..... 20    „

Rajah Roh .... 30    „

Batu Karang .. 10    „

Timi .. .. 10    „

Sungei Pinang.. 40    „

Up the Rajah are Jarah..... 20    „

Pangkalan .... 30    „

Rebba .. .... 10    „

Sungei Pulei .. 10    „

Tanjong ..... 10    „

Gaum..... 30    „

Jambi..... 20    „

At the distance of four days, pull from Rantan Panjang, against a rapid current, there is said to be a channel of communication between the Perak and Salengore Rivers, and a path which leads across to Pahang. The following are the names of the principal Villages in the interior, between Sungei Rajah and the borders of the Patani Country, on the banks of the main stream, or up the small rivulets which fall in, on either side, viz.

Sungei Pijis Mali, with 10 Houses.

Mati .... .. 10    „

Pangkalan Piju .. ..	40 Houses.	
Hari .. .. .	30	"
Pangkalan Limbu ...	40	"
Pasir Garam .. .	100	"
Puluh.....	70	"
Sungei Timang .....	10	"
Misejid Lama.....	15	"
Jeram Kling .....	20	"
Sungei Mali .....	50	"
Duablas .....	120	"
Pasir Pulei .....	80	"
Kwala Paut .. .	60	"
Pasir Jendris .. .	30	"
Pasir Magadut .....	30	"
Pasir Salah .. .	40	"
Pulo Juar .. .	40	"
Kwala Biak .. .	20	"
Gajah Mati .. .	70	"
Aram .. .	50	"
Selat Pulau .. .	50	"
Bendar Busu .. .	30	"
Kwala Rumban .. .	30	"
Teluk Pedaiong (first) ..	20	"
Pulo Tiga .. .	30	"
Terussan Perak .. .	10	"
Sungei Lumboor .. .	20	"
Sungei Beshumana ..	30	"
Berkatu .. .	70	"

Pulo Pinang - - - - -	20 Houses.
Teluk Pedaiong(second)	20    "
Pasir Telur - - - - -	15    "
Sungei Ingris - - - - -	50    "
Pasir Senissan - - - - -	30    "
Sungei Ledang - - - - -	40    "
Aru Panjang - - - - -	50    "
Pasir Sena - - - - -	25    "
Sungei Tepus - - - - -	30    "
Kwala Kongsow - - - - -	80    "
Pasir Suduk - - - - -	50    "
Kwala Jemur Garam -	30    "
Pulo Kambing - - - - -	40    "
Jeram Kling - - - - -	35    "
Jeram Suduk Barong -	50    "

From Kwala Kongsow to the last mentioned place, the Perak people are mixed with the Patani. This last place is nine days pull from the mouth of the River for Boats of the smallest size, which are propelled, during the last six or seven days of the distance, by long poles. A boat will descend in one day a distance which requires five or six days to ascend. Besides the Villages above enumerated there are many smaller ones scattered over the Country in all directions and numerous huts and temporary dwellings amongst the Paddy Fields.

POPULATION.—In 1818, the Population of the entire Perak Country was estimated at 100,000 Men, besides Women and Children, by the Political agent of the Pinang Govern-

ment; but I am disposed to think this is somewhat overrated. He derived his information, as I did, from the Inhabitants themselves, but so very ignorant are they, that it is very rare two of them are found to coincide in opinion upon such subjects, and it is ridiculous sometimes to contrast their different reports. The Inhabitants of Perak are much less civilized than the Quedah people, or even their more immediate neighbours of Salengore. In stating the number of Houses, I have taken the medium of several reports; some of them were very much exaggerated, giving double and even treble the number which others, on whose general veracity and intelligence, I could, from experience, place reliance, have given as the estimated number. There are upwards of 400 Chinese residents, who are engaged in working the Tin Mines and as traders.

TIN.—In former years, after the expulsion of the Dutch from Perak, there was equal to 2000 Bhars, or 6000 Piculs\* of Tin annually imported into Prince of Wales Island from that Country, and the whole produce, about eighteen or twenty years ago, is not overrated at 9000 Piculs. At the time the Dutch possessed the monopoly of Tin, prior and some years subsequent to the formation of the Settlement at Prince of Wales Island, the Exports were about 5000 Piculs, which was delivered to the Dutch at 32 Dollars per Bahar of 428 lbs. or equal to about 10 Dollars per Picul. The Dutch had a small Stockade Fort, with about 50 people to prevent the Natives from carrying

\* A Picul at Perak is 140 lbs. Avoirdupois.



the Tin to other markets, but with all these precautions, the quantity they used to receive was greatly lessened by the Settlement at Pinang.

NAME.—Perak is the Land of Silver. It is conjectured to be the Agrusa of Plotemy, by Marsden.

CHIEFS OF PERAK.—The first King of Perak, of whom there is any account now extant, was Sultan Muzafer Shah, Father of Sultan Mansur Shah, who ascended the Throne of Acheen, and under whose Government that State rose to such power and importance. He it was who so frequently endeavoured to expel the Portuguese, and made so many attempts upon Malacca. “He was murdered” says Marsden, “together with his Queen and principal Nobility by the General of the Forces, who had long formed designs upon the Crown. This was perpetrated in May 1585, when he had reigned nearly 18 years. In his time, the consequence of the Kingdom of Acheen is represented to have arrived at a considerable height, and its friendship to have been courted by the most powerful States. The late Monarch’s Daughter and only Child, was married to the King of Johor.” The present Chief of Perak, is Sultan Tajudin, who ascended the Throne in October 1818, when the Country was conquered by Quedah. His Father was Sultan Mansur Shah the second who died in 1819, and whose Father was Sultan Mahomed Tawze Udeen, who died in the year of the Hejirat 1215\*. This Country has been the scene of con-

\* A. D. 1801.

stant warfare. The British Government expelled the Dutch in 1795, when Lord Camelford, then a Lieutenant in the Navy and Lieutenant Macalister proceeded with a small Force, and compelled the Dutch Garrison to surrender. In the year of the Heijirat 1220\* the King of Salengore had some difference concerning a part of the Territory on the Coast, and he took possession of the whole Country, after a short opposition, and in announcing to the British Government his intention of blockading the River, he says, "The people of Pinang must not go to Perak at present, for Perak, from the River Korau, to Berting Bras Basoh, is my Country. This Country I have taken by force of Powder and Ball, which Custom the Governor of Pinang is acquainted with." In 1818, the Country was conquered by Quedah, by order of Siam, and in 1822, the King of Salengore expelled the Siamese Chiefs and Malayan Forces; he has restored Sultan Tajudin to his former functions and has taken the Country under his protection. His Sons the Rajah Mooda and Tuanko Hassin, the Chief of the Settlement at the Dindings have established posts about 30 miles from the mouth of the River and levy a duty on all Tin Exported by that Channel.

The Point at the Southern entrance of Perak, is called Tanjong Kringa, between which and the Burnam, are three small Streams

\* A. D. 1806.

# SUNGEI ULAR, SUNGEI BETUL, SUNGEI RANGAS.



Without Inhabitants.



## BURNAM.



Is a large River, navigable only for small Vessels, in consequence of the Mud Flats which project from its mouth. There is a small Town at the distance of two days pull from the entrance, having about 1000 Inhabitants. This place is celebrated for Rattans, of which large quantities are exported, and occasionally some Tin, which is brought down the small Channels from the Perak Country. The Rajah Mooda of Salengore is the Chief of this place, and frequently resides here. Beyond Burnam are

## PASSIR PANJANG, SE GULONG GULONG, AND TINGHI,

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three very small Rivers without Inhabitants. Between Se Gulong Gulong and Salengore, are three prominent Points, viz. Tanjong Belana, Tanjong Sau, and Karang.

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## SALENGORE.

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Off the mouth of this River, there is a very extensive Mud Flat, and not more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms Water 3 miles off Shore. Small Vessels however enter the River, and formerly Ships of 250 Tons proceeded as far as the first Town, but after the attack by the Dutch in 1784, the natives threw a great quantity of large Stones across the entrance of the River. The Town of Salengore does not contain above 400 Inhabitants of all classes. The following are the Villages on the Salengore River, with the Tributary Streams.

Kampong Tanjong Batu - - - - 20 Houses.

Sebrang Pematang - - - - - 30 „

On the right, the Hill with a Fortification on the summit

and about - - - - - 20 Houses.

Sungei Teluk Piai - - - - -

Sungei Teluk Champa - 45    „

Sungei Tanjong Pinang - 80    „

Sungei Kampong Kuantan 50    „

Sungei Nior - - - - - 20    „

Sungei Bender Baru - - - 75    „

Sungei Sanglang - - - - 40    „

Kampong Nakoda Gail - 80    „

Sungei Kampong Bugis - 10    „

Sungei Duraka - - - - - 10    „

Sungei Betongan - - - - 50    „

Sungei Rambei - - - - - - -

Sungei Trus - - - - - - -

Dusun Brintongan - - - 10    „

Sungei Rantan Panjang - 10    „

Dusun Tugal Meniala - - 50    „

Serindit - - - - - - - 100    „

Gua Kling - - - - - - - -

Sungei Bender - - - - - - -

Sungei Ayer Etam - - - 10    „

Bulu Kechil - - - - - 15    „

Sungei Tingei - - - - - 100    „

Kampong Datu - - - - 150    „

Kataran, where much Tin is procured

Ayer Terjoon - - - - - - -

Serindoo - - - - - - - -

Here the River unites with the Sungei Ginta which leads to Pahang.

CHIEFS OF SALENGORE.—The present Chief of Salengore is Rajah, or Sultan Ibrahim, who was on the Throne of that Country long before Pinang was taken possession of. His Father was Sultan Alee or Aulie-Udeen, and his Grand Father Sultan Solyman. He is of Buggese descent, the founder of Salengore being a Buggese. One of the earliest Settlements in that quarter, was at Lingi, near Malacca, where his ancestor Klanah Ye Yaw Pitra, was Chief, and the Buggese gradually extended their influence over Colong, and other Malayan Settlements in that quarter, as far as Perak; and many years ago, attacked Queadah. The present Chief conquered Perak. The particulars of his disputes and connexion with the Dutch have been elsewhere described. Rajah Mahomed is the King's eldest Son, styled Rajah Mooda, or Heir apparent. The present Chief has had not less than sixty Children, of whom about half the number are now alive. The Salengore King is nearly connected, by relationship, with the Chiefs of Johore, Pahang, Rhio, and Lingin. About twenty years ago, when Sultan Mahomed and Rajah Aulee were engaged in hostilities at Rhio and Lingin, the present Chief of Salengore was dissuaded by the British Government from interfering in the dispute, as it was understood he intended to do. In replying, he takes the opportunity of explaining the connexion which subsisted between Salengore and those States. He says,

“ I am desired not to interfere in the disputes with Rhio; this is very unreasonable, and cannot be complied with, as I must certainly go to Rhio, and must not neglect going, because I can never be separated from my Brethren, nor can I rest without seeing Sultan Mahomed and Rajah Aulee, because Sultan Mahomed is my younger Brother, and Rajah Aulee, my elder, for which reason it is proper that I should go to Rhio, or even to Lingin, to know the reason that my Brothers are fighting among themselves, to give them good advice, and see that matters are amicably settled between them, agreeably to the ancient Treaty of Datu Neena, who was King of Johor in former times. Do not entertain an idea, that I am going to Rhio to cause trouble and strife; for, if either Rajah Aulee, or Sultan Mahomed get ruined, I shall be the loser. I shall now explain the succession of my Brothers to the Country of Johore, where the Rajah in former days was a Buggese, and his Country was taken by the King of Menankabau and Siack. The Malay Rajah applied to an ancestor of mine for assistance, which was granted, and he took the Country from the Menangkabau people, following the course of the new River named Calna Jie Pootra. He then entered into a Treaty with the Malay Rajah, and they both swore to it, and they lived on terms of the greatest friendship, which was continued by their successors for many generations, and the succession to Jang de per Tuan, Rajah Mooda, Bandhara, Tamungong, and Rajah Indra Bongsoo, continued regular, and never



were altered, and now Jang de per tuan is the Malay Rajah, and Rajah Aulee is the Bugis Rajah. As it is the custom among the black people, that the eldest is always the Rajah, if Rajah Aulee was not in being, I should be Rajah of Johore, because both Sultan Mahomed and Rajah Aulee's Father were related to me. Rajah Aulee's Mother and my Mother were Sisters, and Sultan Mahomed's Mother was my Father's Sister. This is the relationship between us. Surely you will not separate the white from the black of the eye, flesh and blood. It would be unreasonable to prevent my going to Rhio. Rajah Bandhara, who is at Pahang, and Inche Mooda at Bulong, with Rajah Indra Bongsoo, are under Sultan Mahomed and Rajah Aulee; the Malay and Bugis Rajahs in that Country, are like unto Husband and Wife,—the Malay Rajah as the Wife, and the Bugis Rajah as the Husband, because the Bugis Rajah, Rajah Aulee, made the present Sultan Mahomed Rajah, and a Malay Rajah created the Bugis Rajah, and they govern jointly; I understand, that Inche Mooda has assumed the Government of Rhio, and this changing the Government, is the cause of all the disturbances."

The former Kings of Acheen were on very friendly terms with the Salengore Chiefs, and the King now possesses many large Guns which he procured at Acheen. In a large brass piece of ordnance, a long 32 Pounder, I believe, which was presented to him by the King of

Acheen, which is mounted on the Hill, the Natives say there is a White Snake, which comes out every Sunday, and goes to sleep inside the remainder of the Week. They fancy this is a Spirit, and if any person touches it, he is sure to fall sick. The Malays have always some remarkable or superstitious story concerning their particular Guns, and invent the most incredible Tales.

The Salengore Country is much more thinly inhabited than Perak: the Inhabitants however are a much superior race in point of intelligence and education, and have had more intercourse with Europeans. Their features are of much milder expression than the Perak people, who are certainly the worst looking in this quarter; and their complexions are much fairer.

**TIN.**—The Annual produce of Tin at Salengore and Colong of late years, has been estimated at about 2000 Piculs. The Dutch formerly possessed a Monopoly of the Tin Trade of this State, and compelled the King to Trade only with Malacca, about the year 1785, and a few years after Prince of Wales Island was taken possession of. The Agent of the Pinang Government, who proceeded to Salengore in 1818, contracted for 1500 Piculs annually, receivable at Salengore, at 43 Dollars per Bahar of 400 lbs.

## API API.

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A small River to the Southward of Salengore Hill, under Pangulu Che Jabhong, having a population of 100 people. Rice is cultivated.

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## BULU.

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A celebrated place for fruit, and there is a population of 40 or 50 under the above Pangulu.

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## JERAM.

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Is a shallow and narrow River. Here there are some small Kampongs or Villages, and about 500 Inhabitants under Pangulu Che Allie. Here great quantities of Coconuts are obtained. This River is nearly opposite Goose Island (Pulo Angsa,) and some other small Islets called Bottle Islands by Europeans—by the Natives Pulo Tokolo.

## KAPAR.

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A small River, with a Village and eighty Inhabitants, under Pangulu Che Teluk. Paddy is cultivated here.

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## PULAU.

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Which soon loses itself in the Woods. No Inhabitants.

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## COLONG.

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Is about 200 yards wide at the mouth, but narrows to 100, and in some places 70 after a few reaches. The Channel is safe and deep in most places, and the Current very rapid. The first Town is about 20 miles from the entrance, called Colong. It is situated on the right bank, and defended by several Batteries. Here the King of Sâlangore resides at times. The Inhabitants, before the

War with the Siamese at Perak in 1822, were reckoned at about 1500, and the following are the names of the Villages upon the River, as far as within one day's journey of Pahang, on the opposite side of the Peninsula, via.

Teluk Gading.

Sungei Dua.

Teluk Pulei.

Sungei Binjei.

Pankalan Batu

Kampong Lima Pulu.

Bukit Kechil.

Puatan.

Bukit Kruing. This is a famous place for  
Rattans.

Bukit Kuda.

Sungei Bassow.

Naga Mangulu.

Kampong Lalang.

Bukit Bankong.

Sungei Ayer Etam.

Penaga.

Petaling.

Sirdang.

Junjong.

Pantei Rusa.

Kwala Bulu.

Gua Batu.

Sungei Lumpoor.

At all these places,  
Tin is obtained, but  
most at Lumpoor, be-  
yond which there are  
no Houses.

Pahang is one day's  
journey from Lum-  
poo.

## LANGAT.

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Up this small River, are about 500 Inhabitants, and Tin and B rattans are exported from it. After passing Salat Lumut, the proper Channel of Colong Straits, and Salat Lambajan, the false Straits, the next River is

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## TAMPONI,

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with 200 Inhabitants under a Pangulu.

To the Southward of Parcelar Hill, called Gunong Jegra, is a small River, named

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## JEGRA,

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without Inhabitants. The Malays usually fire a large Gun or Musket in passing Parcelar Hill for a fair wind. Beyond Jegra, the next Rivers are

## PASSIR,

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with 20 Inhabitants.

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## GUBBANG,

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with 50 Inhabitants; beyond which is a Point called

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## TANJONG RUH,

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With 300 Inhabitants.

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## SEPPANG.

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With 200 Inhabitants. Here Wood oil, Dammar  
and Paddy are obtained.



## NIPAH.

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With 50 Inhabitants.

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## LUKUT,

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Has lately become a great place for Tin. There are about 1000 Inhabitants up this River, of which 200 are Chinese, who work the Mines, and the Settlement is under charge of a China Captain, appointed by the King of Salengore.

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## LINGI KECHIL.

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A small River with 150 Inhabitants. This is the present boundary of the Salengore Territory. Not far from this is

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## LINGI BESAR,

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which is a Dependency of Malacca. This River is about 6 or 7 miles to the Eastward of Cape Rachado. It is about

20 miles to the first Village. There are many Chinese here, and a large quantity of Tin annually obtained, which is all sent to Malacca, some of the Residents of that place being concerned in the Mines, and making large advances. The Rajah of Salengore claimed the River as being within his Territory, and in the year 1804, complained of an encroachment on the part of a gentleman of Malacca, who was lately acting Governor of that Settlement. He thus asserts his right: "The Land about Lingi is mine, and descended to me from my ancestors. No one has ever claimed it, until now that Adrian Koek has taken it. It was the land belonging to my Father, Rajah Aulee, from time immemorial. When Salengore was at War with Malacca, twice they fought. In the time of my Father the Company attacked and took Lingi with Rajah Kitchi; it was afterwards reconquered, and the Company was attacked at Malacca when they had the Fort on the Hill; afterwards Mayer came from Batavia, sent by the Governor there to settle the dispute between the Company and Salengore. Mayer said, "wherever the smoke of the Company's Powder reached, should belong to them;" to this my ancestor said, that he agreed, and "that wherever the smoke of the Buggese gunpowder reached, should be their's." The Peace was concluded, and there never have been words about it further. The Company's Land was returned, and the Salengore Land was given back to the Bugis. The Boundaries of Malacca and Salengore, was the River Baroo; on the farther side belongs to Ma-

lacca; on this to Salengore. Since I have been King, and had possession of my patrimony, I have had a quarrel with the Company at Malacca; they attacked Salengore and took possession of it about ten months. By God's assistance, I again received it. Abram Dewent was Governor when they made War with me. After this, the Company returned to Salengore, and the Governor sent Abram Moser, and several others to settle the differences. Having arrived a Malacca, they made Peace between me and the Company. We swore to adhere to the Treaty, and bound our posterity to the same. The Lands belonging to Salengore, were then returned to me, and the Country belonging to Malacca, to them; the River was before called Sungei Baru. I declare Lingi is mine, because it belonged to my Forefathers, and from them descended to me. When the Company conquered Lingi, it was their's of course; but at the Peace, they again returned it to Salengore and the Bugis. Also, when they took Salengore, it was their's, but at the Peace they also returned it to me. When my ancestor made War at Lingi, all the Bugis lived there, and when he, with Rajah Alum, of Siak, attacked Malacca. During the time of my ancestor Morhum Klanah Ye Yaw Petra, then Murhum Sultan Soliman, it was a Bugis Government. How could they give a Bugis Country called Lingi? Such are the particulars about Lingi."

## APPENDIX.

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### TRANSLATION

*Of a letter from the Ministers of the King of Ava to the  
Rajah of Quedah at Prince of Wales Island.*

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**A**FTER much praise of the power, greatness and exalted character of the Mighty King of Ava; they proceed,

“ The King of Quedah sent Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally with a letter and presents which were brought to one of the Southern ports of the Kingdom, and the Rajah of Tavei forwarded them to Changong, (Rangoon.) Intelligence having reached Pegue, measures were taken for forwarding the letter and messengers to the Golden Palace. The race of the present Mighty King was the first of mankind who arose after the formation of the world and the titles of His Majesty are Maha Semdak and Sina Senah; whoever requires assistance, this mighty King lends his support to, for it is his custom to render aid. The Rajah of Quedah solicits assistance and he shall assuredly obtain it, in reference to the communications of Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally.

“ The messengers reported that Quedah, Purlis, Perak, Selengore and Patani, five States, were concerting to send a complimentary offering hither. The King of Quedah being off his guard, the Siamese came suddenly upon him and secured his Country, and he removed to Pulo Pinang, where he at present resides. They also reported that there are three States which were concerting to attack the Siamese at Quedah and expel them from the Country. It was also mentioned by the messengers that they were ordered to present themselves before the King without delay, and that they were expected to go and come in four months; and finally, that if they did not return in four months, the people of these five Countries before alluded to would proceed to attack the Siamese at Quedah.

The great King inquired whether there were any other States besides these interested, and the Envoy replied there were Rumdow, Rhio, Dungan, Marang, Pahang, Callantan and Tringano. The King then demanded, if in the event of the five States beforementioned being united and determined to attack the Siamese, how would the Kings of the seven last mentioned Countries be disposed to act; would they join also? The King farther inquired if there were any more Countries besides those already enumerated, and the messengers replied that there was a King of Acheen, and that if all the other States were unanimous he would join also.

“ Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally came here at the unfavorable monsoon, and when they arrived on the Coast the weather was very boistirous. They did not therefore reach the Golden Palace till the month of Shaban, and in the month of Jamadil-awal ten months will have expired. The King of Quedah has solicited assistance, so has the King of Cochin China,

(Cochee,) begged aid. To Cochin China people have already been sent, for the application from that Country was made first, the King of Quedah's subsequently, and besides the intelligence regarding the King of Quedah is not precise; when positive and circumstantial accounts are received, he certainly shall be assisted, an armament shall be sent fully prepared and equipped to attack the Siamese; and the King of Quedah shall be restored to his Country; the five States will then become like Ornaments of the Golden Palace.

"Titles of distinction have been conferred upon the Chiefs of the five States; a Gold Umbrella and complete equipment for a Horse has also been sent for each. The King of Quedah is requested to inquire if the Rumbow, Rhio, Dugon, Marang, Callantan, Pahang and Tringano, and seven States of Acheen will join or not. The King of Quedah will send intelligence of such as refuse to join to the Golden Palace and return the people who convey this without any long delay.

The presents have been given in charge to Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally, to be carried to the King of Quedah and the great King has ordered people to be sent in company to prevent the Messengers suffering any trouble in the way. When they arrive he will receive them and obtain intelligence from Cochin China. As the King of Quedah has begged assistance from the King of the Golden Palace, let him not be mistrustful or suspicious. As to the titles and the Horse Equipments, the King orders them to be preserved, taken care of and respected, for according to the custom of the great King of the Gold Palace, this is the greatest favor that can be bestowed.



"The King of Quedah will make known all circumstances that may have transpired since the dispatch of his Eavoy, Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally to Ava, that every thing may be known, as well as all intelligence relating to the Kings of the seven States, and he will address his communications to the Rajah of Tawei."

No date.

The letter written in the Burmah Character, was rendered into Malays, of which the above is

(A true Translation.)

(Signed) J. ANDERSON,  
MALAY TRANSLATOR TO GOVT.

Pinang, 22nd January, 1824.

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## TRANSLATION

*Of a letter from the Rajah of Tawei or Tavoy to the  
Rajah of Quedah at Palo Pinang.*

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After a lengthened panegyric of the King of the Golden Palace, (Ava) he proceeds,

"The Rajah of Quedah who governs 118 Towns, is informed, the Rajah of Tawei received Intelligence that the Siamese had oppressed Quedah, and the Rajah of Tawei assisted in communicating the same to the King of the Golden Palace, for a ding, at the same time, Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally with the presents to the mighty King. The King of the Gol-



den Palace on hearing this, was impressed with feelings of compassion for the Rajah of Quedah; for it is the peculiar characteristic of the King that when he hears of the distress of any one he instantly feels a disposition to relieve.

"Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally came and presented themselves before the great King and represented the circumstances of the King of Quedah, Purlis, Patani, Perak and Salengore; but he is anxious to hear again all particulars of the present state of affairs in these Countries, and when these five States have finally settled and their fidelity is assured, an armament will be prepared and sent to attack and retake the Country of Quedah and restore it to the King. As to the four Countries they shall never be exposed to difficulty for the time to come, nor will the Siamese be able to disturb them again; as the great King protects the States dependent upon him, so will he guard the King of Quedah and the four other States abovementioned: wherefore, in his favor, he has been pleased to confer titles with a magnificent equipment," literally a magnificent dress, but the present consists of a long gilt umbrella, a set of furniture for a Horse, and a lackered stand for dinner service to each.

"Che Lanang, Mahomed Ally, Chang Buk, Buan and Ichuan have also been invested with titles and a dress; the King shewed them the same attention and kindness that he would have evinced to his own subjects. The Chiefs of Quedah, Purlis, Perak, Salengore and Patani have now been invested with titles of distinction and have had each a splendid present granted to them. The King requests that inquiries may be made relative to the other States, and that such information as may be obtained, may be sent, according to the desire expressed in the large letter from the great King which accompanies this.

Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally returned to Tawei on the 13th day of the month Nion in the year 1185, and the ship, with Pangulu Sera and Noquedah Simbuang, arrived about a month after; inquiries were made of these two messengers relative to the King of Quedah, how he was situated at present, and the intent of their deputation; they replied that they had been sent by the Rajah of Quedah with a complimentary present of a Clock which was received at Tawei. A letter explanatory of all the circumstances relating to the King of Quedah was prepared by the Rajah of Tawei and forwarded with the Clock to the King of the Golden Palace. Noquedah Simbuang remained at Tawei to await the orders that might be received in reply by the persons who were deputed to wait on the great King.

The Messengers Pangulu Sera, Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally, with the letter, the titles of distinction and presents are now returning, and in order that they may meet with no interruption in the way, the accompanying five Chiefs of consequence, of Tawei, viz. Sekei Dogi Nei Mia Ze Jaksa, Seju Jagoom Surakiu, Jagoom Ze Yakiu, Ja Jak Kiu Soo and Hei Miou Si Siouk Noita were directed to escort them in safety to Pulo Pinang. When they arrive, the Rajah of Quedah will acquaint them with all the circumstances which may have transpired since the despatch of his Envoys Che Lanang and Mahomed Ally, and also communicate the same, by letter, which may be given in charge of these five persons.

As to the Rice and Paddy which the Rajah of Quedah requested, it has been given, according to his desire and permission was given also to load the Ship according to the pleasure of the persons in charge. The quantity is 44 Coyans.

The King of the Golden Palace requires some Tin for the roof of the Palace, and he sends 36 Coyans of Rice which he begs may be sold, and the proceeds invested in Tin, which may be delivered to the five Chiefs. The whole quantity of Rice shipped therefore, is 74 Coyans. Now the King of Quedah, with a candid heart, wishes to become tributary to the Golden Palace and the great King will protect him and cherish his Children and his Children's Children, even his remotest descendants, and promote their prosperity and welfare. It is requested the Rajah of Quedah will assist in selling the Rice, according to the market price of Pinang and purchase the Tin at the value of the day, sending a letter also containing all particulars.

No date.

This letter was rendered from Burmahs into the Malayan language of which this is

(A true Translation.)

(Signed)

J. ANDERSON,

MALAY TRANSLATOR TO GOVT.

Pinang, 22rd January, 1824.

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It may be proper to notice that in consequence of the plausible professions of the Envoys from Ligore, which the following minute of a conference exhibits, the Governor of Prince Wales Island addressed two letters to the Rajah of Ligore, containing the draft of a proposed Treaty and submitting certain propositions connected with the restoration of the King of Quedah. The Envoys were charged with these despatches,

and about a month after their return, Captain Lowe was deputed by the Pinang Government to Traang, with letters for the Rajah of Ligore, intending to cross over the Peninsula; but His Highness would neither come to meet the British Agent nor permit him to proceed to Ligore, in consequence of which, the Ambassador returned to Pinang, without having effected the principal objects of his mission. Although seven months have now elapsed since the letters were despatched, no reply has been received,—a practical demonstration of the duplicity of the Siamese, in addition to the numerous other proofs of their want of veracity which have been testified towards the British Government during the last few years.

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## MEMORANDUM

*Of a Conference between the Honorable the Governor and the Messengers from the Rajah of Ligore, on Saturday the 3rd of April 1824.*

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The Honorable the Governor informed the two Siamese Messengers, that he had perused the letters which they had brought from the Rajah of Ligore, in one of which he had communicated the measures adopted by him for making atonement for the outrages at Quedah, by the murder of Lebby Ghanny; that he had been much astonished to observe the Rajah had so long delayed instituting inquiries into the affair

and instead of manifesting a prompt and decided disapproval of such unprovoked outrages, by actions, he had continued to send him only empty assurances and letters. The Governor also observed, that the Rajah of Ligore appeared now to evince a becoming compliance with the just expectations of the British Government and had shewn a desire to discourage the commission of such acts, and as it seemed the Messengers were empowered to make some communications to him, upon other points of importance, he requested, previously to entering upon the discussion of any other matter, to be informed, what particular steps the Rajah of Ligore had taken to punish the suspected persons who had been sent from Quedah and were represented to be now in prison at Ligore.

The Messengers replied, that a few days after the receipt of the Governor's last letter, the Rajah of Ligore caused the four persons suspected of being concerned in the murder of Lebbey Ghanny, viz. Konrat Aksoon, the Secretary, (a Siamese,) Che Musa, (a Malay,) the Interpreter and Translator, Kochop, the Commissary of Ordnance, (a Siamese) and the Superintendent of the Elephants, against whom the suspicions were very strong, to be bound to a stake, according to the law of Siam, for the purpose of extorting a confession. They received each 180 Stripes and were otherwise punished; but as they would not confess, they had been remanded to prison and the Rajah of Ligore was instituting farther inquiries into the matter.

The Honorable the Governor remarked that he was surprised there should have been such difficulty in identifying the perpetrators of the murder, as he had sent a Cruizer, with some of the persons who escaped from Lebbey Ghanny's boat, who could have pointed out the residence of the principal of-

fender ; but the authorities at Quedah threw every obstacle they possibly could, in the way of investigation and inquiry and he had therefore appealed to the Rajah of Ligore, trusting that the notice he had taken of this glaring breach of good faith would operate as an useful caution for the future and ensure that protection to peaceable British Subjects, trading to the adjoining states, to which they were entitled. The Governor further observed, that had a similar offence been committed upon a Siamese subject at a British Settlement, immediate punishment would have followed, and there would have been no tardiness in making every proper reparation the law would admit of, even without any appeal from the Siam Government.

The Messengers assured the Governor, with considerable warmth and every appearance of sincerity, that the Rajah of Ligore was very desirous to maintain a good understanding, and that after the return of one of the present Messengers, Kon Akson, from hence, about two months ago, his Highness desired him to attend the examination of the four suspected persons, in order that he might again proceed to Pinang to assure the Governor, the Rajah of Ligore had done all in his power to bring the offenders to justice. They hoped therefore, the Governor would not longer entertain any doubt of the anxiety of the Rajah of Ligore to make ample amends.

The Governor replied, that from the circumstances now stated, he was disposed to give credit to the Rajah of Ligore's intentions; although he could have wished, for the sake of example, that the proceedings had been conducted upon the spot, at Quedah. He was nevertheless, inclined to be satisfied with the result of the Rajah of Ligore's proceedings, and



he signified his wish to hear the purport of the other communications with which the Messengers were charged.

They stated that they had brought three letters, (producing them,) from the Son and Sister of the Rajah of Quedah, which they were directed, by the Rajah of Ligore, to deliver personally to His Majesty, and they therefore requested the permission of the Governor to have an interview with the King. They said the letters related to some negotiations which were in progress, for returning the Rajah of Quedah to his former Government, and they had been commanded to assure him, that if he would send a letter soliciting the assistance of the Rajah of Ligore and place entire confidence in him, abstaining at the same time, from sending his prows and people to several of the northern Ports of Quedah, where they had been carrying on a predatory warfare, or from accepting the proffered aid of the Burmahs and Malayan States, he might be returned to his own Country and be re-invested with all his former authority. The Messengers mentioned also, that the Rajah of Ligore was much pleased with the Governor's late letter upon this subject and he highly approved of the proposed mediation; he had commissioned them to declare to the Governor, that so desirous was he to put a stop to all differences and to preserve a good understanding between the Siamese and British Government, that he would accede to any consistent proposition the Governor might be pleased to make, in regard to returning the Rajah of Quedah to his own Country.

The Governor rejoined, that as he was the friend of both parties, he was gratified to find the Rajah of Ligore was disposed to accept his proffered arbitration, and that there was



a likelihood, through his intercession, of the Rajah of Quedah being re-instated; that he must have observed the possession of the Quedah Country by the Siamese had been a source of trouble to his Highness of Ligore, without any advantages to counterbalance,—while he excited the jealousy and ill will of the surrounding States; that the Burmahs and many of the Malayan States had offered the Rajah of Quedah powerful co-operation which would, in all probability, have been brought into action 'ere now, had they had not been, in some degree, restrained by his advice. It was clearly, therefore, for the Rajah of Ligore's own advantage and interest to avert the possibility of such a dangerous combination, and to restore the King of Quedah to his Throne,—a measure most acceptable to the British Government. He also said, that notwithstanding the friendly professions of the Rajah of Ligore, it would not be consistent with his duty and inclination, after the part he had taken, to advise the return of the Rajah of Quedah, until the Siamese troops were withdrawn and an engagement entered into, to guard against any treachery in the business; that when the British Government interposed its good Offices and interfered in the affairs of other States, it did so in sincerity and no evasion of a solemn treaty would be tolerated; it was proper, therefore, that every thing should be clearly defined, and when understood, strictly adhered to. The Governor expressed his regret that the Rajah of Ligore had not come down to Quedah as suggested by him, when a speedy adjustment might have been effected. He also inquired of the Messengers, if his Highness had the power to restore the King of Quedah without the special authority of the Emperor of Siam.

The Messengers in reply said, the Rajah of Ligore still entertained suspicions that the Rajah of Quedah had not a proper confidence in his good intentions, therefore, any negotiations would be conducted through the medium and by the consent of the Governor; that the Rajah of Ligore was anxious to have come down to Quedah, agreeably to the Governor's wish, but he could not have done so, unaccompanied by a large force, and the scarcity of grain at Quedah rendered that impossible; he had therefore deputed them to inform the Governor he was ready to receive his further proposals, that he wished any engagements on the part of the Rajah of Quedah to be guaranteed by the Governor, and that it was his desire, that Chief should, as a matter of form, write to him and solicit his influence and assistance; the Messengers added that the consent of the Emperor was a matter of course, if the Rajah of Ligore were willing; for the Quedah Country had been transferred to him;—on this head there could be no difficulty.

In answer to these remarks, the Governor said, that the services and obligations of the Rajah of Quedah were so ill defined and the exactions by the Siamese Government latterly so heavy and intolerable, it would be necessary to come to a clear understanding as to what sort of connexion should subsist in future, and in what degree Quedah was to be dependent upon Siam.

The Messengers again urged that the Rajah of Ligore had such perfect reliance upon the Governor and so sincere a desire to adjust every thing to his satisfaction, that they had no doubt His Highness would comply with his wishes in regard to the present matters of discussion. They complained that some of the Rajah of Quedah's adherents had fitted out vessels and

were committing depredations, not only upon the Siamese, but peaceable traders, and the Rajah of Ligore hoped the Governor would prohibit any hostile equipment.

The Governor replied, that the vessels alluded to were not fitted out at this Island and as the Messengers were doubtless aware and had observed, two Cruizers were constantly going in search of Pirates, and he was using his most strenuous endeavours to suppress Piracy. With regard to the delivery of the letters, the Governor proposed to desire the Malay Translator to accompany the Messengers for that purpose, which they entirely approved of. He intimated to them that he would appoint as early a day as possible, for receiving the Rajah of Quedah and themselves together, to discuss and settle the preliminaries of the proposed Treaties.

The Messengers, before taking their leave, produced a drawing of Cloth which the Rajah of Ligore had desired them to request might be sent to Europe to be manufactured for him. The Governor assured them there would be no difficulty in complying with his wishes in regard to that or any others of a similar nature, and after the more important matters had been settled and brought to a satisfactory conclusion he should be happy to afford the Rajah of Ligore every assistance and indulgence.

After a short conversation respecting the Journey from Ligore, the Crops and the State of the Country, the conference ended and the Messengers withdrew.

(Signed)

JOHN ANDERSON,

MALAY TRANSLATOR TO GOVT.

Prince of Wales Island, }  
the 9th April, 1824. }

*TRANSLATION of a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Alliance entered into between Sir George Leith, Baronet, Lieutenant Governor of Prince of Wales Island, on the part of the British Government and the King of Quedah, Tleaoodeen.*

SEAL  
of Tleaoodeen,  
Sultan Mooda,  
Son of Ma-alum Shah,  
King of Quedah.

In the year of the Hejirat of the Prophet, (the peace of the most high God be upon him,) Onethousand Two hundred and Fifteen, the year Ha, on the twelfth day of the month Maharrum, Wednesday. Whereas this day this writing sheweth that Sir George Leith Baronet, Lieutenant Governor of Pulo Pinang, (on the part of the English Company,) has agreed on and concluded a Treaty with His Majesty the Rajah Mooda of Purlis and Quedah, and all the Officers of State and Chiefs of the two Countries, to be on friendly terms by Sea and Land as long as the Sun and Moon retain their motion and splendour; the articles of which Treaty are as follow.

SEAL  
of Bindaha  
Paduku S  
Maha Ra  
of Queda

SEAL  
of Wan N  
Abdullah

Article 1st. The English Company are to pay annually to His Majesty of Purlis and Quedah, Ten thousand Dollars as long as the English shall continue in possession of Pulo Pinang and the country on the opposite Coast hereafter mentioned.

Article 2nd. His Majesty agrees to give to the English Company for ever, all that part of the Sea Coast, that is between Kwala Krian and the River side of Kwala Mooda, and measuring inland from the sea side sixty Orlongs, the whole length abovementioned to be measured by people appointed by His Majesty and the Company's people. The English Company are to protect this coast from all enemies, robbers and pirates that may attack it by sea from North or South.

Article 3d. His Majesty agrees that all kinds of provisions wanted for Pulo Pinang, the Ships of War, and Company's Ships, may be bought at Purlis and Quedah without impediment, or being subject to any duty or custom: and all boats going from Pulo Pinang to Purlis and Quedah for the purpose of purchasing provisions are to be furnished with proper Passports for that purpose to prevent impositions.

Article 4th. All Slaves running away from Purlis and Quedah to Pulo Pinang or from Pulo Pinang to Purlis and Quedah shall be returned to their owners.

Article 5th. All Debtors running from their Creditors from Purlis and Quedah to Pulo Pinang or from Pulo Pinang to Purlis and Quedah, if they do not pay their debts, their persons shall be delivered up to their Creditors.

Article 6th. His Majesty shall not permit Europeans of any other nation to settle in any part of his dominions.

Article 7th. The Company are not to receive any such people as may be proved to have committed rebellion or High Treason against His Majesty.

Article 8th. All persons guilty of murder, running from Purlis and Quedah to Pulo Pinang or from Pulo Pinang to Purlis and Quedah, shall be apprehended and returned in bonds.

Article 9th. All persons stealing Chops, (Forgery,) to be given up likewise.

Article 10th. All those who are or may become enemies to the Company, His Majesty shall not assist with provisions.

Article 11th. All persons belonging to His Majesty bringing the produce of the countries down the Rivers, are not to be molested or impeded by the Company's people.

Article 12th. Such articles as His Majesty may stand in need of from Pulo Pinang are to be procured by the Company's Agents and the amount to be deducted from the gratuity.

Article 13th. As soon as possible after the ratification of this Treaty, the arrears of gratuity now due, agreeable to the former Treaty and agreement, to His Majesty of Purlis and Quedah, are to be paid off.

Article 14th. On the ratification of this Treaty, all former Treaties and agreements between the two Governments to be null and void.

These fourteen articles being settled and concluded, between His Majesty and the English Company, the Countries of Purlis and Quedah and Pulo Pinang shall be as one Country, and whoever shall depart or deviate from any part of this agreement the Almighty punish and destroy him, he shall not prosper.

This done and completed, and two Treaties of the same tenor and date interchangeably given between His Majesty and the Governor of Pulo Pinang, and sealed with the Seals of the State Officers immediately officiating under His Majesty in order to prevent disputes hereafter.



Written by Hakim Ibrahim, Son of Sri Rajah Mooda, by order of His Majesty of exalted dignity.

SEAL  
of  
Hakim  
Ibrahim

Originally translated by  
J. SWAINE,  
MALAY TRANSLATOR.

Revised from the original by  
JOHN ANDERSON,  
MALAY TRANSLATOR TO GOVT.

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*TREATY OF COMMERCIAL ALLIANCE between the Honorable English East India Company, and His Majesty the Rajah of Perak, settled by Mr. Walter Sewell Cracroft, in virtue of Powers delegated to him by the Honorable John Alexander Bannerman, Governor of Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies.—Done on the 27th Ramadhan 1233, (answering to the Evening of the 30th July 1818.)*

Article 1st. The Peace and Friendship now subsisting between the Honorable English East India Company, and His Majesty the Rajah of Perak shall be perpetual.

Article 2nd. The Vessels and Merchandize belonging to British Subjects, or Persons being under the protection of the Honorable East India Company shall always enjoy in the Ports



and Dominions subject to His Majesty the Rajah of Perak, all the Privileges and advantages which are now, or may at any time hereafter be granted to the subjects of the most favored Nations.

Article 3rd. The Vessels and Merchandize belonging to the subjects of His Majesty the Rajah of Perak shall always receive similar advantages and Privileges with those in the preceding article, as long as they are in the harbour of Fort Cornwallis; and in all other places dependent on the British Government of Prince of Wales Island.

Article 4th. His Majesty of Perak agrees that he will not renew any obsolete and interrupted Treaties with other Nations, Public Bodies or Individuals, the Provisions of which may in any degree tend to exclude or obstruct the Trade of British Subjects, who further shall not be burthened with any impositions or Duties not levied on the subjects of other States.

Article 5th. His Majesty the Rajah of Perak further engages that he will upon no pretence whatever, grant a monopoly of any articles of Trade or Commodities, the produce of his Territories to any Person or Persons, European, American or Natives of any other Country, but that he will allow British Subjects to come and buy all sorts of Merchandize, the same as other people.

Article 6th. The Honorable East India Company engage that they will not form any Treaties or Engagements which may exclude or obstruct the Merchandize of the subjects of the Rajah of Perak, who come to trade at Pinang nor will they grant a monopoly of any sort of Merchandize to any descrip-

tion of Persons, only as is specified in the 5th article, but will allow the natives of Perak to come and buy all sorts of Merchandize the same as other people.

Article 7th. His Majesty the Rajah of Perak engages that if any Persons bring Subjects of the Company from Pinang and its Dependencies for Sale, he will not allow of their Sale in the Country of Perak, and the Honorable Company will be bound by a similar agreement with respect to the subjects of Perak, for the Laws of England on no account allow of such Proceedings in any of the Countries subject to the British Authorities.

Article 8th. This Treaty according to the foregoing articles is made for the purpose of promoting the Peace and Friendship of the two States, and securing the liberty of Commerce and Navigation between their respective subjects to the mutual advantage of both, and of it one Draft is retained by His Majesty the Rajah of Perak, and one by Mr. Walter Sewell Cra-croft, agent of the Honorable the Governor of Pinang. To this is affixed the Seal of His Majesty the Rajah of Perak to ratify it to the Honorable English East India Company, so that no disputes may hereafter arise concerning it, but that it may be permanent and last for ever.

(Signed)

W. S. CRACROFT,  
COMMISSIONER.

(A true Copy)

JOHN ANDERSON,  
MALAY TRANSLATOR TO GOVT.

*TREATY OF COMMERCIAL ALLIANCE between the Honorable English East India Company, and His Majesty the Rajah of Salengore, settled by Mr. Walter Sewell Cracroft, in virtue of Powers delegated to him by the Honorable John Alexander Bannerman, Governor of Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies.— Done on the 20th of Shawal, Saturday, 1233, or 23rd August, A. D. 1818.*

CHC  
of Su  
Ibrahim,  
of Salen

Article 1st. The Peace and Friendship now subsisting between the Honorable English East India Company, and His Majesty the Rajah of Salengore shall be perpetual.

Article 2nd. The Vessels and Merchandize belonging to British Subjects, or Persons being under the protection of the Honorable East India Company shall always enjoy in the Ports and Dominions subject to His Majesty the Rajah of Salengore, all the Privileges and Advantages which are now, or may at any time hereafter be granted to the Subjects of the most favored Nations.

Article 3rd. The Vessels and Merchandize belonging to the Subjects of His Majesty the Rajah of Salengore shall always receive similar Advantages and Privileges with those in the preceeding Article, as long as they are in the harbour of Fort Cornwallis, and in all other Places dependent on the British Government of Prince of Wales Island.

Article 4th. His Majesty of Salengore agrees that he will not renew any obsolete and interrupted Treaties with other Nations, Public Bodies or Individuals, the Provisions of

which may in any degree tend to exclude or obstruct the Trade of British Subjects, who further shall not be burthened with any impositions or duties not levied on the Subjects of other States.

Article 5th. His Majesty the Rajah of Salengore further engages that he will upon no pretence whatsoever, grant a Monopoly of any Articles of Trade or Commodities, the produce of his Territories to any Person or Persons, European American or the Natives of any other Country, but that he will allow British Subjects to come and buy all sorts of Merchandize, the same as other people.

Article 6th. The Honorable East India Company engage that they will not form any Treaties or Engagements which may exclude or obstruct the Merchandize of the Subjects of the Rajah of Salengore, who come to Trade at Pinang, nor will they grant a Monopoly of any sort of Merchandize to one description of Persons only, as is specified in the 5th Article, but will allow the Natives of Salengore to come and buy all sorts of Merchandize the same as other People.

Article 7th. His Majesty the Rajah of Salengore engages that if any Persons bring Subjects of the Company from Pinang and its Dependencies for Sale, he will not allow of their Sale in the Country of Salengore, and the Honorable Company will be bound by a similar agreement with respect to the Subjects of Salengore; for the Laws of England on no account allow of such Proceedings in any of the Countries Subject to the British Authority.

Article 8th. This Treaty according to the foregoing Articles is made for the purpose of promoting the Peace and Friendship of the two States, and securing the liberty of Commerce and Navigation between their respective Subjects to the mutual advantage of both, and of it, one Draft is retained by His Majesty the Rajah of Salengore, and one by Mr. Walter Sewell Cracoft, Agent of the Honorable the Governor of Pinang.—To this is affixed the Seal of His Majesty the Rajah of Salengore to ratify it to the Honorable English East India Company, so that no Disputes may hereafter arise concerning it, but that it may be permanent and last for ever.

(Signed)

W. S. CRACROFT,

COMMISSIONER.

(A true Copy)

JOHN ANDERSON,

MALAY TRANSLATOR TO GOVT.

*TREATY OF COMMERCIAL ALLIANCE between the Honorable the English East India Company and His Majesty Sri Sultan Abdul Rachman Shaw, King of Johore, Pahang and Dependencies, settled on the part of the Honorable the East India Company, by Major William Farquhar, Resident of Malacca, by virtue of Powers delegated to him by the Honorable John Alexander Bannerman, Governor of Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies, and on the part of His Majesty the Sultan of Johore, Pahang, &c. by His Highness Jaffir Rajah Mudah of Rhio, in virtue of similar Powers granted to him by his said Majesty Sri Sultan Abdul Rachman Shaw.*

Article 1st.

The Peace and Friendship now happily subsisting between the Honorable English East India Company, and His Majesty Sri Sultan Abdul Rachman Shaw, King of Johore, Pahang, &c. shall be perpetual.

Article 2nd.

The Vessels and Merchandize belonging to British Subjects, or Persons being under the protection of the Honorable East India Company, shall always enjoy in the Ports and Dominions of Johore, Pahang, Lingin, Rhio, and others, subject to His said Majesty Sri Sultan Abdul Rachman Shaw, all the privileges and advantages, which are now, or may at any time hereafter be granted to the subjects of the most favored Nations.

Article 3rd.

The Vessels and Merchandize belonging to the Subjects of His said Majesty Sri Sultan Abdul Rachman Shaw. Shall



always receive similar advantages and privileges in the Harbour of Fort Cornwallis, and in all other Places dependent on the British Government of Prince of Wales Island.

#### Article 4th.

His said Majesty Sri Sultan Abdul Rachman Shaw, shall not renew any obsolete and interrupted Treaties with other Nations, Public Bodies or Individuals, the provisions of which may in any degree tend to exclude or obstruct the Trade of British Subjects, who farther shall not be burthened with any Impositions or Duties not levied on the subjects of other States.

#### Article 5th.

His said Majesty Sri Sultan Abdul Rachman Shaw, farther engages that he will upon no pretence whatever grant a Monopoly of any Articles of Trade or Commodities, the produce of his Territories, to any Person or Persons, European, American or Natives.

#### Article 6th.

It is finally declared that this Treaty which according to the foregoing articles, is meant for promoting the Peace and Friendship of the two States, and securing the liberty of Commerce and Navigation between their respective Subjects to the mutual advantage of both, shall last for ever.

In token of truth and for the satisfaction of both parties, we have hereunto affixed our Signatures and Seals in Rhio this



Nineteenth day of August, A. D. 1818: answering to the Sixteenth day of the Month Sawal in the year of the Hijra 1233.

SEAL

of Major

Farquhar.

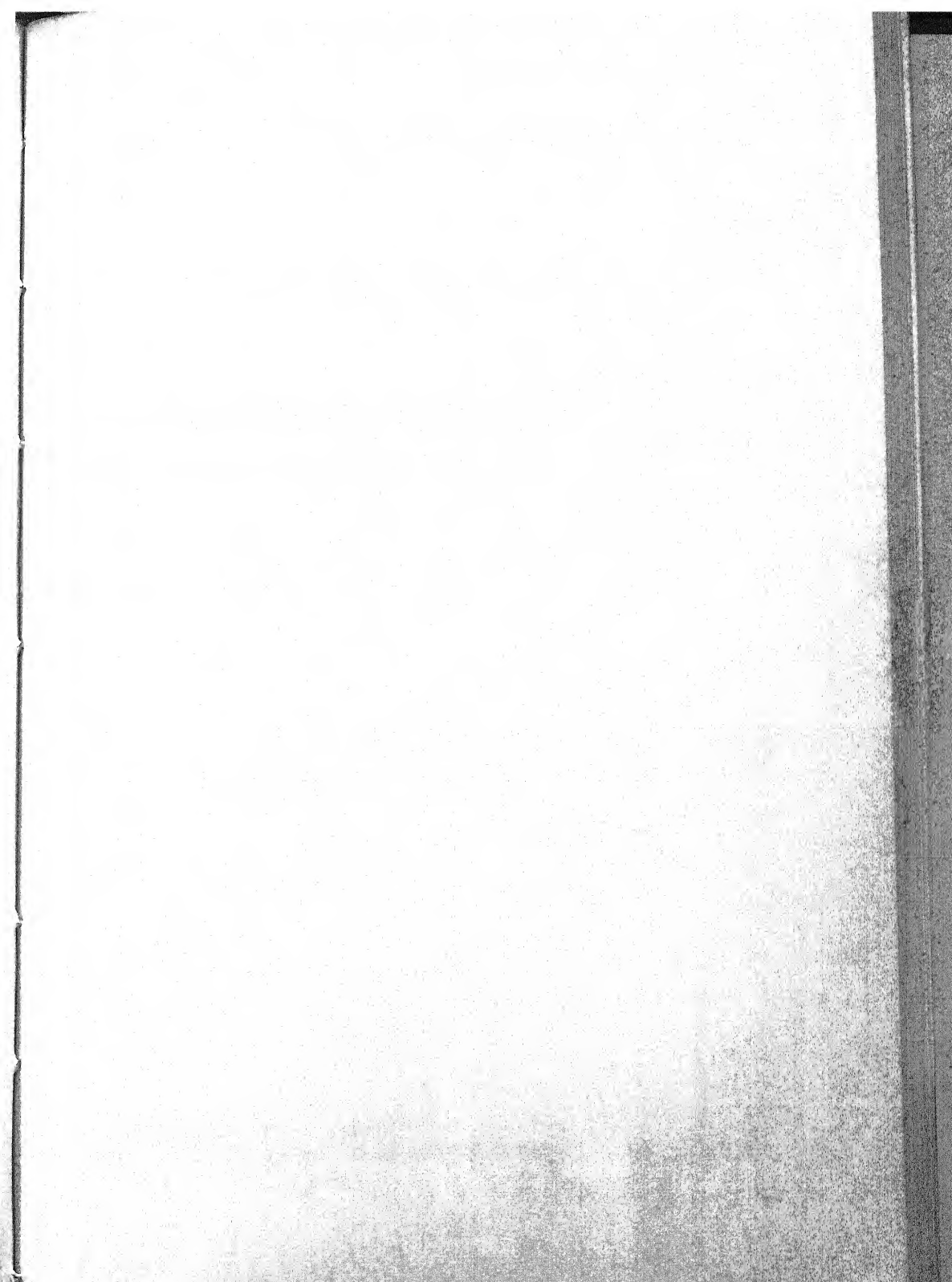
(Signed) Wm. Farquhar,  
Resident of Malacca  
and Commissioner on the  
part of the British Government.

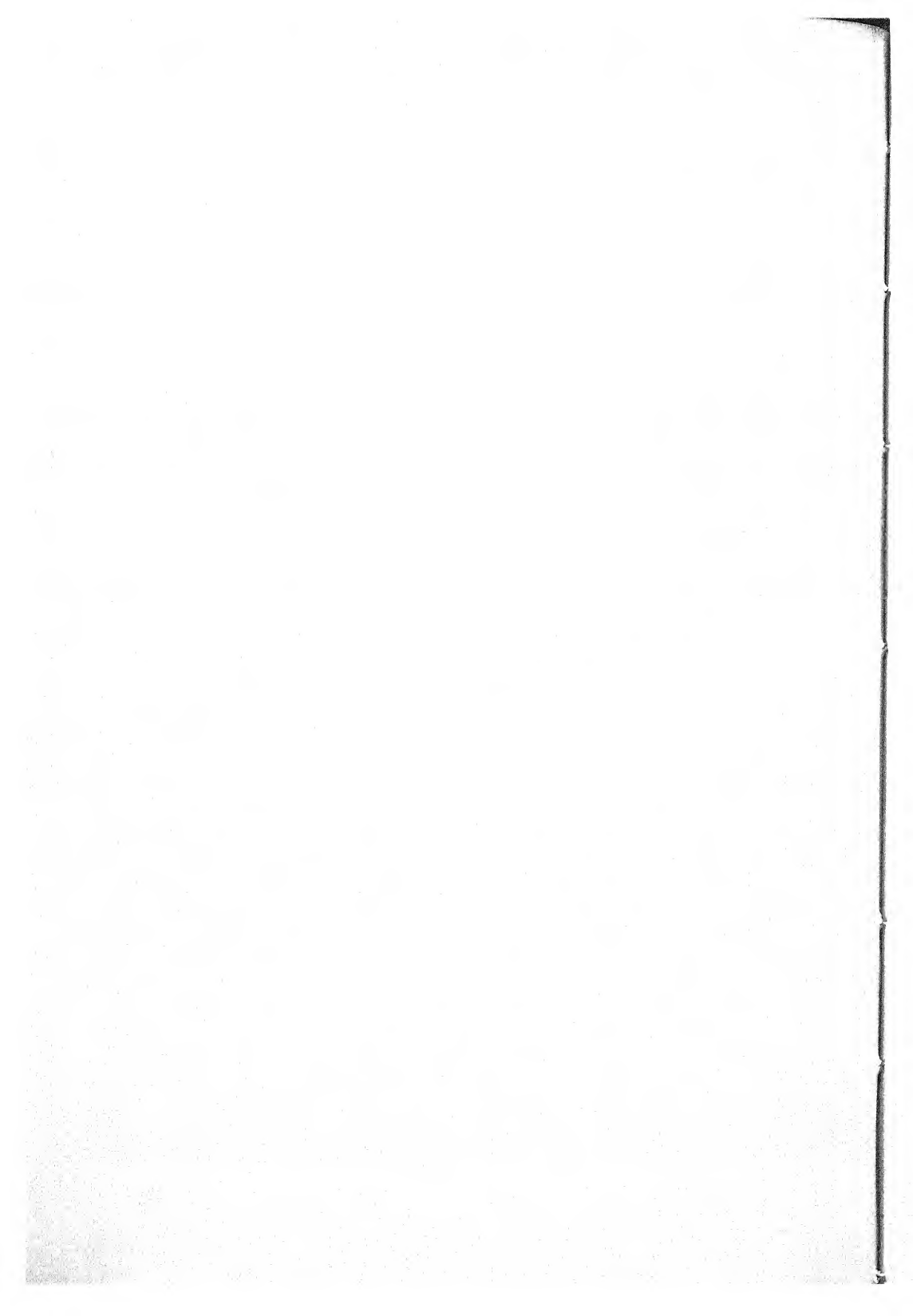
THE CHOP

of the Rajah  
Mooda or Heir  
Apparent of  
Rhio.

(A true Copy)

JOHN ANDERSON,  
MALAY TRANSLATOR TO GOVT.





## APPENDIX.

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*OF THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS of the Malayan Peninsula, and particularly of the Negroes, called Semang.*

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**T**HIS subject has afforded matter of curious and interesting speculation to several writers of modern date. Marsden, Leyden, Raffles and Crawford have alternately bestowed a slight attention upon it; but it is one which requires more minute investigation, and would amply repay the labours of the Philosopher. Of the interior parts of the Malayan Peninsula which is the Suvarna, or Gold Island, one of the three sacred Isles of the Hindus (a) and the Grand Depot for souls after death; (b) there is little known even at the present day and the researches which have hitherto been made, regarding the Aborigines of that portion of the East, have as yet been exceedingly defective, and unattended with any satisfactory result. "In our present

(a) Sir Stamford Raffles remarks "Farther investigation may perhaps establish Java and Sumatra, or rather the Malayan ports (in which general term we may include all the Islands containing the Malayan ports) as not only the Taprobane or Taprovana of the ancients, but also the Sacred Isles of the Hindus." (History of Java, vol. 1st page 5.)

state of knowledge," as a late Author observes, "I fear we must pronounce that the origin of the Nations which inhabit the Indian Islands seems buried in unfathomable obscurity, and hardly appears less mysterious than that of the indigenous plants and animals of the Country they inhabit." (c) Mr. Marsden, in the introduction to his *Malayan Grammar*, has quoted the opinion of Sir S. Raffles (then Mr. Raffles, Secre-

"(b) As Ptolemy places Ma-Lanca-puri in the same longitude with the Pauranics, he must have used the same data, and which he had probably received from the Hindus whom he conversed with at Alexandria, Ma-Lanca, being, according to the Pauranics, in the centre of the Peninsula, it must be of course in about five degrees of Latitude North, and there it is placed by Abul Fazil, and in 4° 20' by Ptolemy. Ma-Lanca is called in the Puranas Yamala and Malaya, which last denomination it still retains. It is styled also Chanchana-pada or with the Golden skirts. It may be translated the Country of the Golden Feet, a title assumed by the Emperors of Ava, and other Kings of that part of the world; and the Malayan breeze is as famous in the East, as the Sahæan in the West; and its capital was also called Saba or Zaba. In the beginning of the Brahmanda-purana, it is declared, that the strong hold of Yama in Tri-Cuta, that is to say the Peninsula of Malacca is 100 Yojanas long and 30 broad, which is sufficiently accurate. Ptolemy mentions there a place called Malaïoucolon probably from the Sanscrit Malaya-culam, which implies a place on the borders or shores of Malaya, the same is called Maletur by Marco Polo, Malayatir and Malaya-culam are synonymous."\* It is singular that the City of Canca Nagara or Ma-Lancapuri, is placed by Ptolemy in the exact Latitude of the River Dinding, in the Perak Territory, (which is known as the Temala or Land of Tin of the same author,) and which is no doubt the same City alluded to in the *Sejara Melaya* or *Malayan Annals*, written in the year of the Hejirat 1021 or a little more than two Centuries ago. It is therein mentioned that Rajah Suran Padashah, (said to be a descendant of Alexander the Great,) "formed the design of subjugating China and for this purpose his Men at Arms and the Rajahs dependant on him, assembled from every quarter with their hosts, to the number of

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(c) Crawford's Archipelago, vol. 1 page 36.

\* Major Milford's Essay, As. Res. vol. 10, pages 144, 145, 146 147.

ry to the Government of Prince of Wales Island,) who published a paper on the Malay Nation, in the 12th vol. of the Asiatic Researches, relative to the Aborigines of the Peninsula. "The Malays," observes this author, "seem to have occupied a Country previously unappropriated, for, if we except an inconsiderable race of Caffries who are occasionally found near the mountains and a few tribes of the Orang Benua, there does not exist a vestige of a nation anterior to the Malays in the whole of the Peninsula. As the population of the Peninsula has excited one thousand and two lacs. With this prodigious host, he advanced against China, and in his course Forests were converted into open plains; the earth shook and the thickets moved, the lofty grounds became level and the Rocks flew off in shivers; and the large Rivers were dried up to the mud. Two months he marched on without delay, and the darkest night was illuminated by the light of their armour, like the lustre of the full moon, and the noise of the Thunder could not be heard for the loud noise of the Champions and warriors, mixed with the cries of the Horses and Elephants. Every Country which Rajah Saran approached, he subdued and reduced under his subjection, till at last he approached the Country of Gangga Nagara, the Rajah of which was named Gengg Shah Juana, which City is situated on a Hill of very steep approach in front, but of easy access in the rear; \* Its fort was situated on the banks of the River Dinding, in the vicinity of Perak." It is also worthy of notice that there are two Rivers under this mountain, which bear the name of Sangah Kechil and Sangah Besar or the great and small Sangah. It will also be observed by a reference to any of the Charts of the Straits of Malacca, that there is an Island called Callum or Collong which forms the Straits of the same name and which are about a day's sail from the Dindings. There is a River of the same name on the main, from which much Tin is exported and which is perhaps the Melaucolon of PROLEMY and Malaya-Culam of the Sanscrit, notwithstanding the powerful arguments against such a supposition. It must not be omitted to notice besides that there is another River to the Southward of Colong called Langat, which bears such a striking affinity to Lanca.

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\* Forrest alludes to a remarkable mountain in this quarter "Gunong gantong hanging Hill is remarkable near Laroot River."

much interest, my attention has been particularly directed to the various tribes stated to be scattered over the Country. Those on the Hills are usually called Semang and are woolly headed; those on the plains, Orang Benua or people belonging to the Country, the word Benua being applied by the Malays to any extensive Country, as Benua China, Benua Kling, but it appears to be only a sort of Malay plural to the Arabic word Ben or Beni, signifying a tribe." (d). This hypothesis however is satisfactorily confuted by Marsden, who asserts that

An intelligent author, (Mr. Crawford) asserts that "The word Kolon is without any alteration Javanese and means the West and the compound word Malayu-kolon exactly in the order in which it stands Malays of the West," and afterwards "There is an unanswerable objection against supposing Malayu Kolon to be on the Malayan Peninsula, or supposing this last to be the Golden Chersonesus or Kraze at all, which will occur at once to every one familiar with the well known history of the Malays. It is this; in the age of PROLEMY, and for many ages after it the Malayan Peninsula was uninhabited, or inhabited only by a few negro savages, resembling the cannibals of Andaman, wretched beings with whom there could have been no intercourse, or at least no commerce. The Malays did not emigrate from Sumatra, their parent country, and settle in the Malayan Peninsula, until the comparatively modern period of 1160, a thousand years after the time of PROLEMY, while Malacca was not founded until 1252, and every other Malay state on the Peninsula is of still more recent foundation," (Hy. of the Archipelago, vol. 3, page 190-191.

(d) We are informed by Marsden that the Sumatrans are firmly persuaded that various particular persons are what they term "betuah" (sacred, invulnerable, not liable to accident"). The belief which prevails in that Island however amongst the Malays, of the transmigration of souls, does not extend to the Malays of the Peninsula, who have spirits and imaginary beings of their own, amongst which we may safely reckon the *Mawas* and *Bitian*. Mr. Marsden says of the Sumatrans "They have an imperfect notion of a *metempsychosis*, but not in any degree systematic, nor considered as an article of religious faith. Popular stories prevail amongst them, of such a particular man being changed into a tiger or other beast. They seem to think, indeed, that tigers in general



Benua is a genuine Malay word signifying country, region, land, and that a slight variation of the word, as Whennua or Fennua is found in the Bisayan dialects of the Phillippines and the languages of the South Sea Islands, bearing a precisely similar signification. In my inquiries amongst the Malays I have not been able, however, to discover, that the term Orang Benua, (which is literally Aborigines or people of the land,) is ever applied to any particular race of the Malayan Peninsula, the supposed aboriginal tribes being styled Sakei or Orang Bukit, Orang Laut and Semang. According to the Malayan Legends, indeed, there is a race of wild people said to be found in the interior of Burnam, the boundary between the States of Perak and Salengore, designated Tuah Benua, (e) by the Salangorians and known at Quedah by the name of Mawas. They are represented as bearing a strong resemblance to the Mawa or long armed Gibbon, and instead of having a bone in

are actuated with the spirits of departed men, and no consideration will prevail on a countryman to catch or to wound one, but in self defence, or immediately after the act of destroying a friend or relation. They speak of them with a degree of awe and hesitate to call them by their common name (rimau or machang) terming them respectfully Sawa, the wild animals or even Nenek, (ancestors,) as really believing them such, or by way of soothing them, as our ignorant country folks call the fairies "the good people."

(e) In the history of Sumatra there is a description of two races of wild people on that Island called Orang Kubu and Orang Gugu, the latter of whom seems to correspond with the description of the Bilian of the Peninsula. "In the course of my enquiries amongst the Natives" observes Mr. Marsden, "concerning the aborigines of the Island, I have been informed of two different species of people dispersed in the woods, and avoiding all communication with other inhabitants. These they call Orang Kubu and Orang Gugu. The former are said to be pretty numerous, especially in that part of the country which lies between Palembang and Jambi; some have at times been caught

the lower part of the arm, they have a piece of sharp iron which serves the double purpose of an arm and a cleaver for cutting wood. There is another savage race, according to the Malays, called Bilian, who are covered with hair and have nails of extraordinary length. Their principal occupation is said to be tending the Tigers, which are their peculiar flock, as the Buffaloes are of the Malays. In rainy nights they are represented by the Malays as sometimes coming to their residence and demanding fire, which those who are acquainted with their savage disposition hand them upon the point of a Sumpit or Arrow Tube, or at the extremity of a sword, as were the person to present it with his hand, he would inevitably be seized and devoured by the savage monster, a fate, which the credulous Malay firmly believes, has befallen many.

It is admirable how the Mahometans of the present day even, assign to these regions Inhabitants so aptly coinciding with the and kept as slaves in Labun, and a man of that place is now married to a tolerably handsome Kubu girl, who was carried off by a party that discovered their huts. They have a language quite peculiar to themselves and they eat promiscuously whatever the woods afford, as deer, elephants, rhinoceros, wild hogs, snakes, or monkeys. The Gagu are much scarcer than these, differing in little but the use of speech, from the Orang Utan, of Borneo, their bodies being covered with long hair. There have not been above two or three instances of their being met with by people of Labun (from whom any information is derived), and one of these was entrapped many years ago, in much the same manner as the carpenter in Pilpay's fables caught the monkey. He had children by a Labun woman which also were more hairy than the common race, but the third generation are not to be distinguished from others. The reader will bestow what measure of faith he thinks due to this relation, the veracity of which I do not pretend to vouch for. It has probably some foundation in truth, but is exaggerated in the circumstances." History of Sumatra, page 41.

mythological superstitions of the Hindoos. Fitter subjects could not indeed be attributed to the Sovereign of Darkness, whose abode is said to be in the Peninsula of Malacca, than the Mawas and Bilian races above described; whose appearance is quite consistent with what some intelligent Christians even, consider as the Imps of the infernal regions, and it is still more remarkable that the supposed residence of the Mawas Species, is, according to the Malays, in the very neighbourhood of the Scite of the City of the Hindus, Yama-puri, or the grand Depot for souls after death. Another circumstance deserving of notice is, that the Menangkabaus of Sumatra, supposed to be the primitive Malays, "deduce their origin from two brothers named Perapati Si Batang and Kei Tumunggungan who are described as being among the forty companions of Noah in the ark and whose landing at Palembang or at a small islet near it named Lanka Pura" (probably the small Island of Lucepura,) is attended with the circumstance of the dryland being first discovered by the resting upon it of a bird, " (Perapati is literally a Pigeon,) ' that flew from the vessel. From thence they proceeded to the mountain named Siguntang-Guntang and afterwards to Priangan in the neighbourhood of the great Volcano, which at this day is spoken of as the Capital of Menangkabau," (f) Now we have before seen that there is a mountain called Gunong Gantang in the Perak Country, the supposed Yama-puri, and what is still more extraordinary the King of Perak in opposing the claims of the Siamese to a Boonga Mas or Golden Flower, in a letter to a friend, says, - " I am he who holds the Royal Sword and the Dragon Betel Stand, and the Shell Fish which came out of the Sea, which came from

(f) History of Sumatra, pages 332, 333.

the Hill of Segangtang." I do not profess myself sufficiently conversant with the subject to reason farther on this singular coincidence, but it appears to me that many curious inferences might be drawn from it and I shall leave the matter for the investigation of a more scientific pen.

At Perak, the principal Tin Country of the Peninsula, there are two distinct races of Wild people in the interior, the one called Semang, resembling those of Quedah in personal appearance, but speaking a different dialect, somewhat more civilized and fond of collecting Silver and Gold, with which they ornament their Spears and Knives, which they obtain in exchange for the products of the Woods; the other race are called Orang Sakei by some and Orang Bukit or Hill people, by others. (g) They are much darker complexioned than the

(g) This race of people seem to correspond in their appearance and habits with a tribe called Jokong which Sir S. Raffles describes as being found near Malacca.\* "I had an opportunity" remarks this Author, in his paper on the Malay nation, "of seeing two of these people from a tribe in the neighbourhood of Malacca, it consisted of about 60 people, and the tribe was called Jokong. These people, from their occasional intercourse with the Malayan Villages dependant on Malacca, speak the language sufficiently well to be generally understood. They relate that there are two other tribes, the Orang Benua and the Orang Udai. The former appear to be the most interesting as composing the majority, the latter is only another name for the Semang or Caffres. They are not circumcised and they appear to have received some Instruction regarding Nabi Isu or as they pronounce it Nabi Isher. They however have no books nor any word for God whom they designate by the Portuguese Deos. They men are well formed, rather short, resembling the Malay in Countenance, but having a sharper and smaller nose. They marry but one wife whether rich or poor, and appear to observe no particular Ceremony at their nuptials. The Consent of the Girl and the parents being obtained the couple are considered as man and wife.

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\* Asi. Res. vol. 11, page 109.

Malays but fairer than the Semangs, and their hair is stright like the Malay. These people lead a similar wandering and unsettled life with the Semangs and speak a distinct language of their own. They are not so timid as the Semangs and sometimes come down to the Malayan Villages to amuse the Inhabitants by their peculiar Dances and Music. Their ordinary dress consists of a piece of bark beat out, tied round their middle, but in the Woods they are frequently met quite naked. Both tribes are reported to be pretty numerous on the Hills which divide the Perak from the Patani States, and they are often engaged in hostilities with each other. They are not so untractable as the Semangs, and some of their children are trained up as domestics in the Malayan families.

The Orang Laut is a race of people resembling the Malays in appearance, who live almost entirely on the water. They are certainly the Ichthyophagi of the East, as they subsist wholly upon fish. Dr. Leyden supposes the Battas of Sumatra to be the Ichthyophagi described by Herodotus; but there are several circumstances in his description which would seem to contradict such a supposition. The same author also, in alluding to the Batta Anthropophagi or Cannibals of Somatra says, (h) "This inhuman custom is not however without a precedent in history, for Herodotus positively asserts that the Paday or Padaoi, about 500 years before our æra, were not only addicted to the eating of raw Flesh, but accustomed to kill and eat their relations when they grew old. Now it is curious that Batta or Battay, for the name is written both ways, seems to be the very word which, in Greek, is rendered Padaoi,

(h) On the language and literature of the Indo Chinese Nations. *As. Res.* vol. 10, pages 202, 203.



the letter p being almost always pronounced b among several of the Indo Chinese nations, as in the word Pali which is almost always pronounced Bali. The following is the account which Herodotus gives us of the Paday or Padaoi, "another Indian nation, who dwell to the Eastward of these, (the Indian Ichthyophagi) are of nomadic habits and eat raw Flesh; They are called Paday and are said to practise such customs as the following; whoever of the community, be he man or woman, happens to fall sick, his most familiar friends, if it is a man kill him, saying, that by his pining in sickness, his Flesh will be spoiled for them, and though he deny that he is sick, they do not attend to him, but put him to death and feast on him. When a woman fall sick, she is treated in like manner by her most intimate female associates. They also sacrifice and feast on him who arrives at old age and this is the reason that so few ever attain it, for they kill every one who fall sick, before that period." (i) Although this account corresponds in some particulars with the habits of the Battas, yet it differs materially in others. The Battas, it is well known, inhabit the central parts of Sumatra and but rarely approach the Sea Shore. They could not therefore be termed Ichthyophagi, as they scarcely see Fish. The Orang Laut of the present day are not known to be addicted to Cannibalism, tho' it is extremely probable they were in former times, as they yet retain all the characteristics of the most savage life. They rove about from one Island to another, and are found in greatest numbers about the Lancavy Group of Islands opposite Quedah and in the Straits of Sincapore and Dryon. They subsist wholly by Fishing and are very expert at striking the Fish with the Spear. They

live principally in small Canoes. Sometimes, when the weather is boisterous or their little barks require repair, they erect temporary huts on the seashore. They are almost all covered with ringworms and scorbutic eruptions and have altogether a most squalid, wretched look. They are sometimes, when chance throws them in the way and they have become a little civilized, employed by the Malays to pull an Oar, at which, from their continual practice, they are very expert. Their Religion is, as Symes says of the Andamaners, "the genuine homage of nature," offering up a hasty petition to the Sun or the Moon.

Of the origin of that most singular and curious race, called Semang, (k) the Malays possess no tradition. Certain it is however, that the tribes of them which inhabited various parts

(k) In his disquisition on the language and literature of the East, Dr. Leyden makes mention of the Negro Tribes as follows, "The Papuas, termed by themselves *Inglole*, but by the Spaniards of the Phillippines, *nigritos del monté*, from their colour and woolly hair, are the second race of aborigines in the Eastern Isles, in several of which they are still to be found, and in all of which they seem to have originally existed. Some of these divisions have formed small savage states, and made some advances towards civilization, but the greater part of them, even with the example of more civilized races before their eyes, have betrayed no symptoms, either of a taste or capacity for improvement; and continue in their primary state of nakedness, sleeping on trees, devoid of houses or clothing and subsisting on the spontaneous products of the forest, or the precarious success of their hunting and fishing. The Papuas or Oriental Negroes, seem to be all divided into very small states or rather societies, very little connected with each other. Hence their language is broken into a multitude of dialects, which, in process of time, by separation, accident and oral corruption have nearly lost all resemblance. The Malays of the Peninsula consider the language of the blacks of the Hills as a mere jargon, which can only be compared to the chattering of large birds and the Papua dialects in many of the Eastern Isles, are generally viewed in the same light." *As. Res.* vol. 10, page 218.



on both sides of the Peninsula were much more numerous before many of the present Malayan Colonies were founded by emigrants from Sumatra. The Semangs are designated by the Malays Semang Paya, Bukit, Bakow and Bila. The Semang Paya are those who reside on the plains and borders of Morasses; the Semang Bukit, whose abode is on the Hills, and the Semang Bakow are so called from their frequenting the Seashore and occasionally taking up their quarters in the Mangrove Jungles. The Semang Bila are those who have been somewhat reclaimed from their savage habits and have had intercourse with the Malays. A similar race of people are said to have formerly inhabited all the Islands of the Archipelago and small parties are still to be found on many of them. To the Eastward they are called Dyak and on the East Coast of the Peninsula Pagan. They are at present most numerous in the interior of Iau, a small River to the Northward of the Muirbow, near the lofty mountain Jerei, in the Quedah territory. There are small parties also in the mountains inland of Jooreo and Krian opposite Pinang. Their huts or temporary dwellings, (for they have no fixed habitations and rove about like the Beasts of the Forest,) consist of two Posts stuck into the Ground, with a small cross piece, and a few leaves or branches of Trees laid over to secure them from the weather. Some of them, indeed, in the thicker parts of the Forest, where the Elephants, Tigers and other wild Animals are most abundant, make their temporary dwellings upon the cliffs and branches of large Trees. Their clothing consists chiefly of the inner bark of Trees, having no manufactures of their own. A few who have ventured to approach the Malayan Villages, however, obtain a little Cloth in Exchange for Elephant's Teeth,

Gahru, Dammar and Canes, which they procure in the Forest, but of the intrinsic value of which they possess little knowledge, and are generally imposed upon by the crafty Malay. From the Malays also, they procure their Arms and Knives and Tobacco, of which last they make great use. They in turn frequently impose upon the superstitious Malays, when they have no products to barter and wish to procure a supply of Tobacco, by presenting them with the Medicines derived from particular Shrubs and Trees in the Woods, and which they represent as efficacious for the cure of head-aches and other complaints.

The Semangs subsist upon the Birds and Beasts of the Forest and Roots. They eat Elephants, Rhinoceros, Monkeys and Rats, and with the exception of the partial and scanty supplies which they obtain from the Malays, they have no Rice or Salt. They are very expert with the Sompit and poison the darts with Ipoh, procured from the juice of various Trees, which is a deadly poison. They handle the Bow and the Spear with wonderful dexterity and destroy the largest and most powerful Animals by ingenious contrivances. They seldom suffer by Beasts of prey, as they are extremely sharp sighted, and as agile in ascending the Trees as the Monkeys. Their mode of destroying Elephants, in order to procure the Ivory, or their Flesh, is most extraordinary and ingenious. They lay in wait in small parties of two or three when they have perceived any Elephants ascend a hill, and as they descend again, which they usually do at a slow pace, plucking the branches as they move along, while the hind legs are lifted up, the Semang cautiously approaching behind, drives a sharp pointed Bamboo or piece of Neebong which has been previously well hardened in the

fire, and touched with poison, into the sole of the Elephant's foot, (1) with all his force, which effectually lames the Animal and most commonly causes him to fall, when the whole party rushes upon him with spears and sharp pointed sticks and soon dispatch him. The Rhinoceros they obtain with even less difficulty. This Animal, which is of solitary habits, is found frequently in marshy places, with its whole body immersed in the Mud and part of the head only projecting. The Malays call them Badak Tapa, or the recluse Rhinoceros. Towards the close of the rainy season, they are said to bury themselves in this manner in different places, and upon the dry weather setting in, and from the powerful effects of a vertical Sun, the Mud becomes hard and crusted, and the Rhinoceros cannot effect its escape without considerable difficulty and ex-

(1) It is singular that the mode of destroying Elephants in Abyssinia as described by Bruce is not much different from that practised by the Semangs. Two Men on Horseback dart in amongst the Elephants or gallop up close to a single one. "After having made him turn once or twice in pursuit of the Horse, the Horseman rides close up alongside of him and drops his companion just behind on the off side and while he engages the Elephant's attention upon the Horse, the footman behind gives him a drawn stroke just above the heel or what in man is called the tendon of Achilles. This is the critical moment, the Horseman immediately wheels round and takes his companion up behind him and rides off full speed after the rest of the herd, if they have started more than one, and sometimes an expert Agageer will kill three out of one herd. If the sword is good and the man not afraid the tendon is commonly separated and if it is not cut through so far divided, that the animal, with the stress he puts upon it, breaks the remaining part asunder. In either case he remains incapable of advancing a step, till the horseman returning, or his companions coming up pierce him through with javelins and lances, he then falls to the ground and expires with the loss of blood.—Bruce's Travels, vol. Book 8, Chap. 2nd, page 299.

ertion. The Semangs prepare themselves with large quantities of combustible materials with which they quietly approach the Animal, who is aroused from his reverie by an immense fire over him, which being kept well supplied by the Semangs with fresh fuel, soon completes his destruction and renders him in a fit state to make a Meal of. The projecting horn on the Snout is carefully preserved, being supposed to be possessed of medicinal properties and highly prized by the Malays, to whom they barter it for their Tobacco, &c.

A more simple and natural mode of bestowing names cannot well be imagined, than that adopted by the Semangs. They are called after particular Trees, that is, if a Child is born under, or near a Cocoonut or Dorian, or any particular Tree in the Forest, it is named accordingly. They have Chiefs amongst them, but all property is in common. They worship the Sun. Some years ago, the Bindahara, or General of Quedah, sent two of these people for the inspection of some of his English Friends at Pinang; but shortly after leaving Quedah, one of them, whose fears could not be appeased, became very obstreperous, and endeavored to upset the small Boat, in which they were embarked; the Malays, therefore, with their usual apathy and indifference about human life, put the poor Creature to death, and threw him over board; the other arrived in safety, was kindly treated, and received many presents of Spades, Hatchets and other Iron Implements, which he appeared to prize above every thing else. On his return to Ian, he built himself a small Hut, and began to cultivate Maize, Sugar Cane and Yams. He is still there, and is said to be a quiet inoffensive man. This man was at the time of his visit to Pinang, when I saw him, about 30 years of age, four feet,

nine inches in height. His hair was woolly and tufted, his colour a glossy jet black, (m) his lips were thick, his nose flat and belly very protuberant, resembling exactly two natives of the Andaman Islands who were brought to Prince of Wales Island in the year 1819.

The Semangs are found also at Tringano on the Eastern side of the Peninsula, and a Gentleman of this Island has had one, who was sent to him by the King of that Country, in his Service, many years. He was procured when a Child, and has no recollection of his own language. I am informed however by the Malays, that the dialect of that tribe is different from

(m) "The East Insular Negro," says Crawford, "is a distinct variety of the human species, and evidently, a very inferior one. Their puny stature and feeble frames cannot be ascribed to the poverty of their food, or the hardships of their condition, for the lank haired races living under circumstances equally precarious, have vigorous constitutions. Some Islands they enjoy almost exclusively to themselves, yet they have in no instance ever risen above the most abject state of barbarism. Wherever they are encountered by the fair races they are hunted down like the wild animals of the forest and driven to the mountains and fastnesses incapable of resistance.\* Sir Everard Home gives the following description of a Papua Negro carried to England by T. S. Raffles.† The Papuan differs from the African Negro in the following particulars. His skin is of a lighter colour, the woolly hair grows in small tufts, and each hair has a spiral twist. The forehead is higher and the hind head is not so much cut off. The nose projects more from the face. The upper lip is longer and more prominent. The lower lip projects forward forming the lower jaw to such an extent that the chin forms no part of the face, the lower part of which is formed by the mouth. The buttocks are so much lower than in the Negro as to form a striking mark of distinction, but the calf of the leg is as high as in the Negro.

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\* Crawford's Archipelago, vol. 1, page 26.

† History of Java, vol. 2, Appendix, page 235.

those of Quedah. He is not of such a jet black glossy appearance as the Semang from Quedah whom I saw, nor the two Andamans who were at this Settlement some time ago. A few months since, a party of fifteen of the Semangs, who reside on the mountains of Jooroo, came down to one of the Villages in the Honorable Company's Territory, and having experienced kind treatment, and received presents from some of the Inhabitants, they have continued in that neighbourhood ever since, and frequently visit the Villages.

There is little doubt that the degenerate Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, in the Bay of Bengal, are descended from the same parent stock as the Semangs, and it is extraordinary that they have preserved the same uniformity of manners and habits through such a series of ages. It will be seen, by a reference to the following specimen of the Semang language, that there is a very material difference in many of the words as collected by Colonel McClune, (late Malay Translator at Pinang,) from a Semang of Ian, and published by Mr. Crawford, and those collected by Mr. Maingy, the Resident of Province Wellesly, from the Semang of Jooroo, inland of the Honorable Company's Territory, a distance of not more than 40 miles, and that the Andaman language bears no resemblance to either.



*Specimen of the Semang language in two dialects and of the Andaman.*

English.	Semang Jooroo.	Semang Ian or Quedah	Andaman.
Earthquake . .	Talilu . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Land . . . .	Teh Karmow .	Teh . . . . .	Tatonguangu .
Mountain . .	Maidap . . . .	Tabing Chubak	. . . . .
Plain . . . .	Teh Haita . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Sand . . . .	Pasait . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Island . . . .	Palao . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Road . . . .	Ha . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Water . . . .	Hoh . . . . .	Batcao . . . .	Migway . . . .
Sea . . . . .	Lawat . . . . .	Laut . . . . .	. . . . .
River . . . .	Sungei . . . . .	Sungai . . . .	. . . . .
Flood . . . .	Pasing . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Ebb . . . . .	Siut . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Sun . . . . .	Mitkatok . . .	Milkatok . . .	Allay . . . . .
Moon . . . .	Bulan . . . . .	Kachit . . . .	Tabci . . . . .
Star . . . . .	Binting . . . .	Binting . . . .	. . . . .
Rain . . . . .	Ujan . . . . .	. . . . .	Oye . . . . .
Fire . . . . .	Us . . . . .	Us . . . . .	Mona . . . . .
Smoke . . . .	E'el . . . . .	E'el . . . . .	. . . . .
Lightning . .	Kilat . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Thunder . . .	Kai . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Wind . . . .	Bioh . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Cloud . . . .	Miga . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Dark . . . .	Tin, Amea . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Light . . . .	Chahai . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .



English.	Semang Jooroo.	Semang Ian or Quedah.	Andaman.
Cold . . .	Guu, Amad . . .	. . . . .	Choma . . .
Hot . . .	Pedee . . .	. . . . .	Mooloo . . .
Black . . .	Belteng . . .	Belting . . .	Cheegheoga . . .
Charcoal . . .	Auggu . . .	Mannying . . .	. . . . .
Ashes . . .	Tebut . . .	Tapip . . .	. . . . .
Cloth . . .	Budbud . . .	Panjak . . .	. . . . .
Tree . . .	Kuing . . .	Chuck . . .	. . . . .
Leaf . . .	Klee . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Rattan . . .	Latei . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Bough . . .	Teboa . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Flower . . .	Bungei . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Rice . . .	Bei . . .	Bayas . . .	. . . . .
Salt . . .	Geam . . .	Siyah . . .	. . . . .
Milk . . .	Boo . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Death . . .	Kabis . . .	Kabis . . .	. . . . .
Life . . .	Gamas . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Sick . . .	Miji . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fever . . .	Maa . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Small Pox . . .	Champang . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Man . . .	Tumbal . . .	Teunkal . . .	Camolon . . .
Woman . . .	Mabei . . .	Badon . . .	. . . . .
Virgin . . .	Kedah . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Father . . .	Kau . . .	Ai . . .	. . . . .
Mother . . .	Boh . . .	Mak . . .	. . . . .
Brother . . .	Tobai . . .	Inak . . .	. . . . .
Sister . . .	Wan-ku-man . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Infant . . .	Wang . . .	Wanganeg . . .	. . . . .

English.	Semang Joоро.	Semang Ian or Quedah.	Andaman.
Husband . . .	Tee . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Marriage . . .	Goon . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Body . . .	Pee . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Mine . . .	Eng . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Flesh . . .	See . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Bone . . .	Gehee . . .	Aieng . . .	Geetongay . . .
Blood . . .	Muhum . . .	. . . . .	Cochengohee . . .
Head . . .	Kala Kuyi . . .	Kai . . .	Tabay . . .
Face . . .	Mid . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Ear . . .	Pal . . .	Auting . . .	Quaka . . .
Mouth . . .	Tenut . . .	Ban . . .	. . . . .
Tooth . . .	Lemum . . .	Yus . . .	Maboy . . .
Tongue . . .	Litig . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Belly . . .	Koad . . .	Cheong . . .	Napoy . . .
Nipple . . .	Bow . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Hand . . .	Tong . . .	Chas . . .	. . . . .
Fingers . . .	Wantung . . .	. . . . .	Momay . . .
Thumb. . .	Boating . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Hair . . .	Saa . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Nail of the Hand	Tika Tong . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Arm . . .	Belang . . .	. . . . .	Pilei . . .
Foot . . .	Chau . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Nail of the Foot	Tiku Chan . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Toe . . .	Wang Chau . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Eye . . .	Med . . .	Med . . .	Tabay . . .
Nose . . .	Muck . . .	Neak . . .	Mellee . . .
Tiger . . .	Chiai . . .	Taiyo . . .	. . . . .

English.	Semang Jooroo.	Semang Ian or Quedah.	Andaman.
Hog . . .	Tobaw, Badai	. . .	- - -
Dog . . .	Wau . . .	Ek . . .	- - -
Deer . . .	Sau . . .	Rusak . . .	- - -
Elephant . . .	Ta-meen-da	Gajah . . .	- - -
Crow . . .	Eghail . . .	. . .	- - -
Peacock . . .	Mah . . .	. . .	- - -
Monkey . . .	Jayo . . .	Jayo . . .	- - -
Buffalo . . .	Kebao . . .	Kebao . . .	- - -
Rat . . .	Tikus . . .	. . .	- - -
Cow . . .	Lemboh . . .	Lembok . . .	- - -
Fowl . . .	Kawao . . .	Kawao . . .	- - -
Duck . . .	Itek . . .	Itek . . .	- - -
Fish . . .	Ikan . . .	Ikan . . .	Nabokee - -
Snake . . .	Ekob . . .	Ekob . . .	- - -
Bee . . .	Galu . . .	Galu . . .	- - -
Crab . . .	Kandun . . .	- - -	- - -
Ant . . .	Kesub . . .	Ies . . .	- - -
Egg . . .	Maku . . .	- - -	- - -
Nest . . .	Sam . . .	- - -	- - -



*Description of the Island of Junk Ceylon by Captain Francis Light.*

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**J**UNK CEYLON or SALANG, as called by the natives, is situated in the 8th Degree of North Latitude, and extends N. N. E. and S. S. W. about 40 miles, in breadth only 15 miles. It forms the North point of the Straits called Malacca, as Acheen head does the South, and is 17 Degrees East of Madras; 4 Degrees East of the Nicobars; 80 Leagues N. E. of Acheen; and 50 Leagues N. W. of Quedah. The land is mountainous, the Villages well watered, pleasant and fruitful. The hills are covered with Forests of large and useful Timber. The soil various, but chiefly Sand and Clay. It produces several kinds of Rice, 1st the common Rice, 2nd the scented Rice, 3rd the red and purple colored Rice, 4th the Puloo, a glutinous Rice, both white and red. This last is much esteemed for Convalescents. They have two harvests, the one from the high Grounds and Hills in September, and the other from the Plains in January, that on the Hills, although attended with much labour and little profit, is greatly preferred by the Inhabitants. They first cut down the underwood; then fell the Trees, leaving only the very large ones; after topping all the branches, it is left for two or three months to dry. In April they set it on fire, and the whole is consumed, leaving only the stumps and large trunks: they then clear the Ground; in May they put in the Seed. Men with two Sticks make holes as they walk on the Ground two inches deep, and nine or ten inches asunder; the Women follow with a small Bam-

boos filled with Paddy, she drops three or four grains in each hole, and striking the edge of the Bamboo, covers the Seed. It sometimes, a fortnight after this, requires weeding, and when the ears are formed, they must keep a constant watch over the Birds, which are very small and very numerous. The Elephants are more destructive Invaders. To keep these out, they fell a number of large Trees round the borders with the branches outwards, and within these, is made a strong fence of Pickets four or five feet high, covered with thorns. All their precaution is sometimes insufficient. The Paddy in the low Grounds, is either sown or planted, in the same manner as in Beugal and other parts of India, These Grounds are fenced in every year. In gathering the Paddy, they are peculiar; it is generally performed by the Women, who with a Knife cut off the head of only one or two at a time, and put them into Baskets. This, though a tedious mode, is superstitiously observed. There are now two Villages remaining, the principal Bantakion, stands nearly in the Centre of the Island, on a pleasant plain, a small River running close by it; the Village is surrounded by a hedge of Bamboos, and contains 400 Inhabitants. Bandone two miles S. W. of Bantakion, is situated on a Hill, contains about 200 Inhabitants, some Gentoos and Malabars; this place is healthy. It is almost surrounded with Paddy Fields and a River; six or seven miles West of Bandone, is Tentally, contains 300 Inhabitants, and is situated near the Sea. Here the land is low, and forms a fine Bay with a Sandy Beach, on which is found Ambergris during the N. E. Monsoon; here is excellent fishing. Seven or eight miles N. W. of Bantakion, lies Sago, on the side of a mountain, containing 150 Inhabitants; the Soil is here rich and

productive of the finest fruits. The mountain which is high, slopes into the Sea, and defends the valley from the strong Sea Gales. From Sago to the Straits of Popra, the land is low, and intersected with many Lakes; the Road is over a heavy sand about nine miles long.

Ringain and Cockrain are two temporary Villages on the S. E. side, inhabited during the N. E. Monsoon, when they work the Mines. From Cockrain there is a small River navigable for Boats which empties itself into a Bay three miles deep and two broad. This Bay is very shallow, and when the wind blows from the E. N. E. has a very large Sea; but at the South end, there is a small Harbour formed by an Island, in which Ships may ride in 6 and 7 fathoms smooth Water. on the S. W. end of the Island, on the side of a high mountain fronting the Sea, is the Village of Comra, inhabited by 50 Malay Families. Tarma, which is made the Seaport Town, contains about 400 Houses; it is on the East side nearly central 6 or 7 miles from Bantakion, and two miles from the Sea; the River, which was formerly navigable for Sloops, is now choaked up, and only Boats can go up at high Water; the Town is well situated; there are Roads leading to the principal places on the Island, and to Jamboo. On the South side of the Town is a piece of high Ground, which commands the whole; all strangers reside here. The Harbour of Tarma is covered from the winds. Ships lay in the most perfect security in the greatest Gales, defended from S. and S. E. winds by the Cocons and Salangs, from the N. E. by Panjang, from the N. E. and S. E. by Salang. The only impediment to this being the best Naval Port in India, is a Flat bank of Mud which extends from Jamboo to Cocoa; between this bank and



the Salangs is 4, 5, 6, and 7 fathoms water, but here the Ships, though defended from all weathers, would be exposed to an Enemy, the passage round Salang, and from Salang to Jamboo, being more than two miles wide. Jamboo is a high narrow point of land, broad at the extremity; has plenty of Wood and Water, and might easily be defended, the Soil, at top is light, but underneath a fine Clay, which grows hard when exposed to the Air. This Point extends to the East near one mile from the Main Island, and in the Centre, is not more than 200 yards over. On the North side of this Point, the water is very shoal, no Ship can come within Gun Shot. On the side next the Harbour, there is a small Channel of 2 fathoms. Were the several Rivers which empty themselves over the Mud bank, confined to run by the side of Jamboo, the Current would open a Harbour for large Ships; there is plenty of Timber fit for Piles, Stones, Earth &c. at Jamboo; a Mole might be raised at a small expense, should the present Harbour be deemed insufficient.

The Strait separating Salang from the Main, is 5 leagues long and affords a very good Harbour; the entrance from the Sea is blocked up by Sand navigable only for Boats in fair weather; the Tides run strong; the land forms two low Sandy Points about 600 yards distant, and three quarters of a mile in length; depth of water from Point to Point 6, 7, 8, and 9, fathoms; The Coast Vessels frequently load Elephants here, laying a short Bridge of Planks from the Beach to the Vessel; this part of the Strait is called Popra. From these Points, it widens into a Bay, deeper on the Main than Salang, and extends 6 miles to Stony Point, where the land again contracts the passage to about 5 or 600 yards. The Points here are high



and bluff, at present covered with lofty Trees. After passing this Point, the passage becomes intricate, a large sand extends from the Island at low water; there is not more than 3 or 4 fathoms between the Sand and the Shore. Here also the Tides from the Sea, and from the Bay of Salang meet and cause great eddies; the difficult part of this passage is about 2 miles, after which there is a fair and clear Channel of 9 or 10 fathoms into the Bay of Salang. Ships of the line must pass over at the last quarter flood, and then, if they have not a fair wind, they must warp past the red Sand, when the ebb Tide will carry them into the Bay to the West of Stony Point. This place is capable of being fortified, and would be safe from the attacks of an Enemy; the disadvantages attending this place, are, the Tides are strong near the steep Shores, and in the Harbour, the Shores are Flat. For a large Ship to carreen, it would be necessary to have floating Stages. This would render it tedious and expensive for a large fleet. For the protection of Merchant Vessels, and two or three Ships of War, it is preferable certainly to Pinang.

The continent opposite Salang from Popra to Tacorpa, 30 miles, is very thinly inhabited by Siamese, has only 5 or 6 Villages situated 3 or 4 miles from the Sea Shore. Between the Villages and the Sea, is thick Jungle, left to prevent the Malay Pirates from making incursions to their habitations. Bancey the first Village, is 3 miles from Popra, this was formerly the Seat of a Gentoo Merchant from Madras, who built Vessels at Popra, and carried on a considerable Trade to the Coast of Coromandel. Some of his family are still remaining, but the Village now contains only 30 Houses. Eight miles to the Northward of Bancey, is Natory, the Seat of Government.

This Village contains upwards of 100 Houses on a small rising Ground, surrounded with Paddy Grounds and Water; a rapid River runs through this place to the Sea. A mile and a half from Natory, is Tacoatany, a Christian Village, formerly very large, but now so reduced, that a Priest cannot procure a maintenance. Three or four miles from Natory to the N. W. is Patai, a small Village of 14 or 15 Houses; the whole of this plain from Bancey to Tacoatany, is no where two miles broad. From the Woods which cover the Sea Shore to the foot of the Hills, it is exceeding fertile, and produces great plenty of Rice and Cattle. One Village I had forgot only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile from Popra, called Coeloi, has only 8 or 9 Houses; the plains of Natory are separated from Tacopa, by a very high mountain, which they cannot travel over in one day. The people of Siam have no other entrance into this Country by land, unless they cross immediately from Ligore over many mountains, and through thick Forests. This would be of singular advantage to Salang, as no Artillery or Stores could be brought against it but by the Sea. Tacopa produces Tin; the Inhabitants of the several Villages come here to dig; the Tin is either transported to Siam by the way of Chia, or sent to Popra. The River of Tacopa is pretty large, but not navigable for Ships, on account of the Sand banks which cover the entrance. From Tacopa, you go up the River in Boats or Rafts to Soik, a Mountain; here they land, and walk round to the opposite side, half a day's journey. They then embark on Rafts and proceed to Chia. At Chia there are always Vessels going to Siam. The Country to the Northward of Tacopa, as far as Meigui, is uninhabited, there are many Rivers, and the Coast abounds with Tin Ore, particularly at Beaon. Many attempts

have been made to settle this by the Siamese, Malays, and Tannoos, from the great facility with which they can procure the Tin; but as it lies between the Siam and Burma Towns, and is claimed by both, the few people who have gone there, have been plundered and carried away. All this Country is mountainous, a few Miles from the Sea shore, and covered with impenetrable forests, in which there are great numbers of wild Elephants.

At the North end of Salang River, is a very rapid and cold River, which falls down a steep precipice called Cra Poongha, there are a few Inhabitants who dig Tin. The Country here wears a romantic appearance; steep rocks, caves, high Mountains, and rugged Islands; near Poongha I am told is a Valley of a circular form to which there is only one entrance under a large Rock; at high water the passage is closed, and at low water the rapidity of the Current with the Shelves and Rocks, render it impossible for the smallest Boat to pass. The only time to go out is at half Tide; here 500 people have taken refuge from the tyranny of the Siamese Government. I have received this account from Chinese and Malays who have been there, and from Pio Pemone, the late Governor of the Island. From Poongha to Trang, including a Coast of 16 or 18 leagues and a number of Islands, there are no Inhabitants, except the Orang Lauts, who navigate from Island to Island.

The only produce from Salang at present which makes a part of Commerce, is Tin, found in the greatest quantities in the S. E. part of the Island. Pookit, formerly the principal Town of the Island, and where the Tin was melted, is now neglected; they finding it easier to dig near the Shores. The Ore is all dug in wells four feet square. Four men join to a

Pit; 2 of them open the Pit, while the others collect Bamboo leaves and frames for the sides; 4 pieces of Wood about 8 or 9 inches round, notched and let into each other, makes the frame, these are placed within the Pit at the distance of 5 or 6 feet, at the back of these are thrust down small long Bamboos, and behind them are put leaves to prevent the Earth and Water from entering the Pit. A Pahola is erected at one end, a Bucket hung by a Rattan sewer to draw up the Earth and Ore, the other end is balanced by a weight, a dam is made by the side of the Pit, at the bottom is placed a Mat, and then filled with Water. One man remains in the Pit to dig up the Ore, and works the Pahola. The Ore is brought up mixed with Stone and Clay, and thrown among the women, who sit there to receive it into Wooden Platters, by breaking the Clay with their Fingers, and twisting round the Platters, the Ore is soon separated and laid aside; in the evening, they wash the Ore in a running Stream to carry off the finer particles of the Sand; it is then dried and carried to the Smelting House. It is received by measures, 100 lbs. of the Ore yields 70 to 75 lbs. of the metal. The Miner, if a poor man, receives a Ticket for 40 lbs. of Tin; if an Officer 50. These Tickets are afterwards exchanged by the King's Overseer, at the rate of 5 Tickals of Silver for one Coping, weighing  $62\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. English. The Surplus 30 or 35 lbs. goes to the Smelter, who is a Chinese that rents this privilege from the King. When the Pit is finished, and they lose sight of the Ore, two of the men begin another. In 2 or 3 days, they get all the Ore within reach; the Pit is then left open to fill up, as time and accident direct. At Pookit, they dig from 50 to 70 feet; at Rangain, and places near the Sea from 10 to 30 feet; but here they are sometimes obliged to wait until the Spring tides are

over. They are likewise more subject to putrid vapours in the low Grounds than in the high, which prove mortal. After passing the Strata of Stones and clay, to which the Ore adheres, is always found a bed of exceeding white clay without any mixture; below this bed the Ore never descends. The quantity of Ore found in such Pits, varies from 250 to 1000 lbs; the Ore is smelted in a Furnace 3 feet deep and 22 inches broad, hooped with Iron; the bellows is of Wood shaped like a Pump 7 feet long; the diameter of the Cylinder 4 inches; the Piston is very small, and covered at the end with feathers; at each end of the Cylinder, is a valve which gives a constant supply of Air. The Tube for conveying the Air into the Furnace, is of bamboo, and fixed in the middle of the outside of the Cylinder to a small Channel about 12 inches square on the outside, which conveys the Air to the Tube as the Piston goes up and down. The Furnace is first loaded with Charcoal; when well fired, about 200 lbs. of Ore is placed on the top, and coal over it. To make the Metal separate more easily, they put a little pounded Scoria among the Ore, and moisten it; the first time it passes through the Furnace, it parts with some of its arsenic qualities; but is yet only black shining Scoria, with a few white specks of Metal; the second time they get Tin. The Ore is five times run through the Furnace before the Tin is properly extracted; after this the Scoria is laid by, and when the Season for digging is over, they smelt it once or twice more. The Tin is cast in Slabs of 30 lbs. weight called *Poke*, in small pieces of 20 to a Slab called *Poot*, 40 to a Slab called *Tueng*, 80 called *Pinchay*. With these divisions, they went to the Market, until the present King



of Siam engaged the whole. The quantity of Tin dug by the present Inhabitants during the Months of February, March, and April, amounts to 4000 China Piculs, in value 68,000 Spanish Dollars.

The pasture of Salong is excellent, the Buffaloe is very large, meat more sweet and tender than in any other parts of India. Beef, Sheep and Goats thrive well here, but the Inhabitants can possess no property; therefore nothing is cultivated; nor even Poultry reared. In the Woods are Elephants, Rhinoceros, Tigers, Elk, Deer, Bears, and Hogs, and a great variety of the feathered species, whose plumage is highly valued by the Chinese. The Lakes abound with wild Fowl, and the Sea with Fish, the Valleys are well watered with streams, the Air is healthy, and the Mountains yield a rich Ore with plenty Fruit. The Shores abound with Shell Fish, Oysters, Muscles, Crabs, Pearl Oysters, Hammer Oysters, King Crab, a variety of painted Shells, also Sea Slug called Beech de Mer, which makes an Article of Commerce with China. Of this Slug, there are three kinds, the white, red and black, the white sells for 5 Dollars per Picul, the red from 7 to 16, and the black from 20 to 30. Bird's Nests, or Mera de Pastro, are found among the Islands from Salang to Mergui; the first sort, of a transparent white is worth 24 Dollars per Catty in China, the others from 7 to 16 per Catty, according to its colour, and being free from feathers; the coarse sort is almost all feathers and black; this sells for only 30 Dollars per Picul. The collecting these two Articles employ every year near 1000 Prows, and 4500 people. The King of Quedah claims the dominion of these Seas, and grants a license for collecting the Bird's Nests and Sea Slug to some

of his Officers, for which he receives about 12 to 15,000 Spanish Dollars per Annum. The most useful Trees on Salang are the Oil Tree, Dammar Tree, Poon, red and white for Masts, the Tokien, Tong, and Tookun for Ships and House Building; the Toomasak for Piles, Mytack for Oars, black wood and red wood for furniture. These Trees are all of very large dimensions and very lofty, the white Oak is short and very crooked. The Sasafras Tree very plentiful, Sago Trees very few, Bamboos, Canes, and Rattans in abundance besides a great number of other useful Trees whose names I have forgotten. Of Fruit Trees, the Durian, Jack, Champada, Mangoosteen, Mango, Loomala, and wild Mango, Orange, Lime, Pumplemose, Marian, and several wild fruits. From the nature of the Soil and Climate of this Island, nothing is wanted to make the Inhabitants happy but a rational Government. Their Religion and Laws are Siamese, but all other religions are tolerated; and some of them are both Mahomedans and Siamese; they conform to the Laws of Mahomed in not eating Pork, and to the Siamese, in adoring the image of their Prophet. The Government has been changing so often, it is difficult to fix on any period for a description. Before the destruction of Siam by the Burmahs, the Island belonged to the Ligure Department, and was governed by three Officers, the Pia Salang, Pia Blaas and Jokebat, appointed by the King of Ligure. After the loss of Siam, the Malays got possession of the Island, and the Laxsamana of Quedah maintained an absolute authority, treating the Siamese as Slaves, until an accident inspired the Islanders with the idea of liberating themselves, which they performed in one night, at an Annual assembly which the Siamese celebrated in honor of their Prophet.



One of the Islanders unarmed fought with a Malay armed with his Creese or Dagger, the Islander conquered in spite of the Creese, and beat the Malay to a mummy. The Chief of the Siamese represented to his people how shameful it was for them to behold themselves in subjection by people so much weaker than themselves. As it was necessary to be secret, only 70 chosen Men were assembled in the dead of night; they attacked the Malayan Town with Fire and Sword; the Laksamana conceiving the whole Island was raised against him, fled with his people to their Prows. In the morning, not a Malay was to be seen; they left their Guns, Tin, Money, and Merchandize to the Islanders, and never dared to return. The Laksamana constantly regretted the loss of this Island, and offered me 8000 Men, when it was proposed by Mr. Hastings to establish a Settlement. The Island afterwards suffered another Revolution, when Pia Tai became King of Siam; but this leads to a long history. The present Governor, styled Choo Pia Salang, is one of the greatest Villains, who has raised himself by ingratitude, deceit, murder, and rapine from a low and indigent state. He wrote me a Letter expressing great esteem and friendship, which I did not answer. A few days ago, he sent me a Messenger to assure me if I would next November send a Vessel with some Troops, he would deliver the Island to the English and only require a small allowance for himself. Could this Island be obtained by treaty, or with the unanimous consent of the Inhabitants, for the King of Siam is only their usurper of yesterday, and may probably share the fate of his master, I know of no place of so much value. It is known from experience the soil is favorable for Pepper, Cotton, Sugar,

Coffee and that the natives of the Coromandel and Tanjore Countries, prefer it to their own land. It would immediately pay the expense of Government, and would be an admirable situation for a place of arms. This would remain, were even Bengal and the Carnatic to be lost.

The S. W. and N. E. Monsoons prevail at Salang; the S. W. winds from May to November; the N. E. winds are not so steady and strong as the S. W. during the S. W. winds, the weather is cloudy, with frequent showers; the heavy rains are in September and October. In December the North and South East winds blow fresh and dry. January and February are subject to calms, March and April to variable winds.

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*Extract of a letter addressed by the late Mr. James Scott, to the Governor General, dated Jan Sylang, 28th October, 1873.*

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“ All these concurring circumstances and more perhaps with which I am unacquainted, have induced the Governor here to make the following proposals and to desire I would forward them to the Company, viz.

That if the English would take on them the sovereignty of the island Jan Sylang and its dependencies and send a force to resist any future attempts from Siam; he will deliver them the peaceable possession of the Island, on the following terms, and promises to content the Inhabitants, to facilitate which he requests,

1st. That all debts to the King of Siam by the natives of this Island shall be cancelled for ever.

2nd. That the Slavery of the people arising from their being considered as Slaves of the King be abolished, and every one be entitled to the produce of his labours.

3rd. That private property remain as it now is, and debts due from Inhabitants to individuals be recoverable as before.

4th. That the Arrack and Gaming Farms be at least for a time abolished.

5th. That the Company will receive of the Miners 8 measures of Tin for one Capping  $62\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. and pay for every 8 measures 4 Spanish Dollars in place of 3 Spanish Dollars now paid by the King.

For himself, as Governor under the Company, he asks 5 Bhars of Tin for every 100 Exported; or in lieu thereof 160 Spanish Dollars. N. B. One Bhar is 500 lbs avoirdupois.

That whereas the King of Siam for himself or in the name of the Governor for the time being, stands at this time indebted to English Merchants a sum not exceeding 700 Bhars of Tin:

This the Company coming in place of the King must discharge to the bond holders, on the second year of possession in Tin, from their own proper Funds.

All other debts due by individual natives to foreigners of any nation to be allowed on proof and recoverable in the Court of Law.

Every thing else he trusts to the wisdom and consideration of the Company, and he hopes they will be speedy in sending him an answer, as the existence of himself and family will depend on the protection he may receive from them, or what their answer may enable him to procure elsewhere, previous to the change of the Monsoon.

*The probable advantages of the English Company accepting the proposals of the Governor of the Island Salang, and ceding it to the British Government. By the late Captain James Scott.*

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As this subject has already been before your Board, and reasons appearing to justify our taking possession by force, and as these reasons operate with more force towards a peaceable acquisition than open conquest, I shall suppose the information already given on record as full and satisfactory regarding its local situation and advantages, and proceed to shew the additional propriety of the measure from our consequent loss of the Rhio and Salengore trade. The Government of Salang extends from the River's end in the Latitude  $9^{\circ} 10''$  N. to a River to the Southward of Tillibon in about Lat.  $7^{\circ}$  N. The whole Coast is a bed of Tin Ore, very rich and fuzible in common charcoal fire with a pair of bellows; there are a great number of Islands on the Coast, in many of which are Tin. The Exports of Salang at present are about 5000 Piculs of Tin; some Amber, Wax, and Ivory are produced, but being the King's, are left to rot in the woods. The Islands contiguous are at present rented to the Quedah people at 5000 Dollars per Annum for the purpose of gathering Bird's Nests and Beech de Mer; but their produce is 16,000 in these Articles. Cotton, Sugar, Coffee, Pepper, and Indigo, are Natives of the Island of Salang, and might be cultivated to any extent, and with an increased population, the quantity of Tin is indefinite; the present export being from the labour of about 700 Men and Women four Months

in the Year. But let us take an estimate from its present state.

5000 Piculs of Tin at $8\frac{1}{2}$ .....	42,500.
The Medium price in China is.....	100,000.
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Rent of Bird's Nests.....	5,000      57,000.
Deduct Governor's dues at 160 Drs. {	2,080      2,920.
per 375 Piculs is.....	

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Sp. Drs. 60,420.

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From this, there remains a balance to defray the expenses, of Current Rupees 150,000. I have added nothing for the profits of its Imports, which in Bengal Articles, may be about 20,000 Dollars yearly, exclusive of Exports to the Main, and I have made no deduction from the China price of Tin, as the Ships from Madras go in ballast, and if no Tin is sent, the same risk would go on in Specie. The Amber found on the Coast is rented in Districts, but I am uninformed of its aggregate produce, they being very secret in what regards it; it is sold to the Chinese at 5 and 6 times its weight in Silver. There is likewise a very rich Pearl Fishery, which was formerly worked by the Chuliahs from the Gulf of Manara, but given up about 30 years ago from the oppressions of Government. This is at Pulo Matia near Tillibon; its former produce I have been unable to learn. The Export of Elephants is likewise another source of Revenue, the Island price being at 50 Dollars, the Export price from 4 to 800 Dollars. Might one hazard an estimate, I think it very moderate when I say the probable Annual Exports in Tin will on the 10th



year, under proper encouragement, be 30,000 Piculs, in which case, observe the statement.

30,000 Piculs at $8\frac{1}{2}$ .....	255,000.
Price in China at 20 Drs. per Picul .....	600,000.
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	345,000.
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Gain Current Rupees 862,500. As the increased population will increase the demand, 150,000 Dollars would be wanted in goods, and 100,000 in Specie, and these would find for the Company in China 15 Lacs yearly. It is further not over rating probability where I affirm, that the Pepper, Camphor and Gold of Acheen would centre here.

If then the possession of Salang, a healthy, fertile Island as before described, promises to supply our losses for the fall of Rhio, I think we ought not to hesitate, as a permanent possession, which may be improved to any extent, is preferable to a Trade, however flattering, which owes its existence to the absurd regulations of our neighbours, and whose existence therefore in some measure, is dependent on these regulations.

And, as the natives of Salang have long groaned under a severe despotism, where flogging is a Trade regularly learnt, they would be so fully sensible of their change, that their loyalty might be depended upon.

There would be wanted, to secure this Island, during the few first years of possession, 500 Seapoys, and 100 Europeans, Artillery included, with 6 months provisions, a double proportion of light field pieces and great Guns for two small Forts;

a complete set of artificers, 5000 Gunny Bags, should it at any time be requisite to throw up a Fort in haste on the lands of Popia.

Your marine should be two small Snows, 2 Long Boats and 2 Row Gallies armed thus; viz. The Snows to carry 10 or 12 four or three Pounder Guns, with one cannonade in the Bow, for throwing Grape and Cannister.

The Long Boat about 10 or 15 Tons, Decks fitted for carrying 10 Swivels, one Bow Gun and one Cannonade, with Blunderbusses on Swivel sticks.

The Row Gallies built light and long, for serving in smooth water, fitted with some shelter for the people, proper Magazines and Arm Chests to carry one Swivel Gun or rather a Cannonade and ten Blunderbusses on her Gunwales. If not coppered a provison of White Lead for painting them.

The two Snows, unless judged necessary to keep up a communication with India might be dispensed with on the second year, if Siam remained quiet and if you attend to the situation, the length of the journey, the want of Provisions, unless brought from Siam, the want of Boats to transport them, their Arms, ammunition and Provision to the Island, in the face of a prepared and vigilant enemy, I think there is little to apprehend.



*Extract from Captain Kyd's Memoir on Pinang, dated  
Fort William 1st September 1787.*

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" In offering these circumstances (says Captain Kyd) respecting this Island, I need not remark that they are grounded on a view of the actual possessions of the several European Powers in India, but that should any Maritime Power establish themselves on the Andamans, the Nicobars, on Junk Ceylon, its comparative advantage will bear another degree of estimation, from which administration will judge of the propriety of taking formal possession of these several places, so as to establish our claim against any European Powers settling or strengthening themselves in time of Peace from our heretofore inattention and neglect to establish such a right."

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*Extract of a letter from Colonel Kyd, addressed to the  
Supreme Government, dated 21th May 1788.*

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In addition to my letter of date 30th April, I have to request you will acquaint the Board, that I have farther received from Captain Wright, a specimen of Tin Ore as raised from the Mine of Junk Ceylon, termed by the natives Jan Sylang. This specimen now laid before the Board, with its surround-

ing matrix, which appears of a sparry nature, Captain Wright informs me is raised from a depth of between 5 and 8 fathoms from the surface, that the Mines are opened on the declivity and near the base of a ridge of mountains forming an Amphitheatre, situated on the South Promontory of the Island, and include the Bay named Pookit Bay; that the Mine is freed from water by means of a pitcher suspended at the end of a long Lever, as practised all over India, that the Ore is raised by the Inhabitants on the command of the Despot who resides there on behalf of the Siamese Government, that the Ore is smelted by a Chinese resident there, next in authority under the Governor, and the labour of the Inhabitants repaid by part of the metal extracted being restored to them; but notwithstanding its extreme richness and exclusive profit accruing from the Mineral, the small portion thus afforded to the natives, is the only allowance from Government, in consideration of the various fendatory services to which they are subject, to the transporting the very metal on their shoulders, a 30 days journey overland to Siam; that this Island notwithstanding the ravages and divastations occasioned by Burmah and Siamese Troops which have alternately desolated it for years past, in its present state of population and Government, is capable of affording annually about 500 Tons of Tin and was there, in February last, delivered to him at the rate of 50 Dollars for 500 lbs. This computation Captain Wright formed in consequence of residing four months on the Island, the quantity produced having been raised and delivered to him, and from having been an eye witness to the exertions made by the people during that time. For the better ascertaining the nature of the Ore, I have herewith annexed a copy of a report of an Assay

made by Mr. Blake of Omceepore, of whose chymical talents and assiduity, the Board are I believe, already acquainted.

From this Assay it appears, that the Tin Ore of this Island, if estimated by the specimen in question, contains  $64\frac{1}{2}$  parts of fine Tin in the 100 of Ore, and that of Prince of Wales Island  $55\frac{1}{2}$ , by the same Scale that on the late invasion of the Island by the Burmah Troops 1,400 men were found capable of bearing Arms; this, by the European Scale for ascertaining Population, reduces the Inhabitants to about 14,000 that the Island affords evident tokens of more numerous population at former times and extensive cultivation, and that it produces Rice sufficient for its Inhabitants."

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FINIS.

